

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2022 with funding from  
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761115523995>



CA1  
EA  
-S77

# Statement

(Z)

99/1

JOINT STATEMENT ON THE OCCASION OF  
THE VISIT TO CUBA OF  
CANADA'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY

HAVANA, Cuba  
January 7, 1999  
(7:30 p.m. EST)



This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





On January 7, 1999, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada, the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, met in Havana with the Foreign Minister of Cuba, Roberto Robaina. Cuban Vice-President Carlos Lage was also present at the meeting.

They reviewed the state of bilateral relations, including areas where co-operation could be enhanced and new joint activity undertaken. Ministers Axworthy and Robaina also discussed issues linked to globalization and Canada's foreign policy activity in the area of human security and the preparations under way in anticipation of the Canadian-hosted Summit of the Americas. In addition, views were exchanged on socio-economic problems of Central America and the Caribbean, and on the need to ensure greater international co-ordination in preparing for, and responding to, natural disasters in the region.

This meeting marked the two-year anniversary of the Canada-Cuba Joint Declaration signed by Ministers Axworthy and Robaina in Havana. That undertaking established a program of co-operation in 14 areas, which has greatly assisted in strengthening relations between the two countries. Ministers Axworthy and Robaina noted that activity is under way on all items identified in the Joint Declaration, and agreed that this work should continue and be deepened.

They concurred that the January 1997 Joint Declaration continues to provide a key framework for Canada-Cuba co-operation, while emphasizing that co-operation is not and should not be limited to the matters identified in the Declaration. Over the past two years, the development and enrichment of bilateral relations has continued, and senior level bilateral discussions have occurred during which additional prospects have been analysed. Especially noteworthy in this regard were Vice-President Lage's visit to Canada in February 1998 and the visit to Cuba in April 1998 by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien. Bilateral economic relations continue to expand, in terms of trade, investment, tourism, sports and technical co-operation, between governments and among universities and non-governmental organizations in both countries.

Today, Ministers Axworthy and Robaina signed a Transfer of Offenders Treaty that will strengthen bilateral consular relations by allowing a citizen of one country, who has been convicted and incarcerated in the other country, to be transferred to a penal institution in the offender's home state.

Further to Point 8 of the Joint Declaration, the Ministers also signed a Memorandum of Understanding that will facilitate co-operation in combatting the common problem of illicit narcotics trafficking. Both Ministers agreed that further bilateral co-operation in this area would make an important contribution to confronting this serious regional and global problem.

Recalling the mutual commitment made in Points 1 and 3 of the Joint Declaration, the Foreign Ministers noted the preparatory work under way to develop action plans for co-operation in the area of the administration of justice and the judicial-legal system,



and with respect to the Office for Attention to the Public of the National Assembly. The Foreign Ministers welcomed the prospect that concrete activities would begin soon in both these areas. They also welcomed further co-operation under Point 4, and specifically the announcement that Cuba would host a Canada–Cuba workshop on women's issues, May 5 to 7, 1999.

The Foreign Ministers reiterated their respective Governments' support for undertaking joint co-operation with third countries, as stipulated in Point 13 of the Joint Declaration. They renewed their commitment to continue exploring actively prospects for joint co-operation with other countries. They also confirmed that in 1999, consultations will continue on a bilateral investment accord and on implementing international anti-terrorism conventions. In addition, Ministers Axworthy and Robaina examined the good progress of the bilateral food program, and of the projects of support for social sectors.

The Foreign Ministers reported on new co-operation in the areas of education and the environment, in particular with regard to postgraduate studies for Cuban academics in Canada, and the approval of new Canadian government program funding for university partnerships, specifically for two projects: environmental health risk assessment and coastal zone management. These projects will strengthen the capacity of Cuban institutions in the environmental area.

Ministers Axworthy and Robaina agreed that the meeting today marked another useful step in strengthening Canada–Cuba relations on the basis of mutual respect and commitment.



CA1  
EA  
-S77

# Statement

99/2

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE  
REGIONAL SEMINAR ON ANTI-PERSONNEL MINES  
"REAFFIRMING OUR COMMITMENT"**

**MEXICO CITY, Mexico  
January 11, 1999  
(1:00 p.m. EST)**



This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





From the outset, our hemisphere has been actively engaged in achieving a global ban on anti-personnel mines. As a region, we played a leading role in making the Ottawa Treaty a reality. We should continue to do so as efforts turn to bringing the Convention to life.

I am therefore delighted to participate in a seminar that brings us together to address practical solutions to the serious problems caused by anti-personnel mines in our hemisphere. The theme of the seminar — "reaffirming our commitment" — perfectly captures the spirit of the anti-personnel mine ban effort in this region.

I am particularly pleased that Canada is co-sponsoring this seminar with Mexico. Mexico has been an active, constructive and much appreciated player — and often leader — in pursuing global disarmament and arms control issues, including anti-personnel mines.

In March, the Ottawa Convention will enter into force — faster than any disarmament convention ever. Early in the Ottawa Process, Central American and Caribbean leaders pledged to make their region mine-free by the year 2000. Thirty-three of the 35 States in our hemisphere were original signatories of the Convention. Since then, 14 States have ratified it. Our hemisphere has clearly made a major contribution to this historic achievement.

Close co-operation between governments and civil society organizations was an important element of what has become known as the Ottawa Process — and a key factor in our success. This partnership needs to continue. And as I look around the room today, I am encouraged to see that this unique coalition remains strong.

The Ottawa Convention is a major achievement, but it is just the beginning. As challenging as it was, achieving the Treaty was the easy part. The real challenge is implementation and universalization. The real test will be the degree to which it makes a difference in the lives of those who must live with the threat of landmines every day. That is why we are here today.

Like this meeting, governments and civil society organizations have hosted regional conferences over the past year — in Russia, Jordan, Thailand, Hungary and Yugoslavia — to move forward in achieving the goals of the Convention. Each of these conferences has yielded concrete results: more ratifications, more signatories, stronger public awareness of the landmine issue, more pressure on the holdouts to join the ban, and concrete mine action and victim rehabilitation projects.

I hope that over the next days we will reinvigorate the region's commitment to progress in all these areas. For the first time since the beginning of the Ottawa Process, we are gathered to focus our thinking on how to rid the farm lands, playgrounds and fields of our own region of these indiscriminate killers.

Signature and ratification of the Convention remains the indispensable starting point. With each new signature and ratification, another country assumes the responsibility of destroying mines on its own territory as well as supporting mine clearance and victim assistance in mine-affected states.

The First Meeting of the States Parties to the Convention will be held in Mozambique in May. As I mentioned, 14 States in our hemisphere have ratified the Convention. Many more have begun the process. I challenge us to arrive in Mozambique with as many ratifications as possible — reaffirming our strong commitment and the region's leadership role.

We also need to sustain public and political momentum. This is essential to meeting the provisions of the Treaty and to making a difference in people's lives. We have made progress globally:

- there are now fewer than 10 mine-producing countries in the world that do not support a comprehensive moratorium or de facto ban on the export of anti-personnel mines;
- almost all traditional exporters of mines have ceased these activities — the once-flourishing trade in mines has all but vanished. Use is slowing; transfers are drying up;
- unilateral moratoria have been adopted by key non-signatories — the United States, Russia and China;
- 11 million stockpiled mines have been destroyed by 15 countries since the beginning of the Ottawa Process in 1996;
- as a result, millions of mines will never be produced, exported or put in the ground — sparing thousands of lives and preventing thousands more from debilitating injuries.

Awareness and support continues to grow in our region too. The peace accord between Peru and Ecuador resolved one of the most intractable disputes in South America, and provides for mine clearance activities. In Colombia, rebel alliances have renounced the use of anti-personnel mines through the "Heaven Doors Agreement." To help raise public mine awareness in Colombia, Canada will contribute \$50 000 to help a local NGO [non-governmental organization] manage a nation-wide mine awareness campaign.

Concrete mine action programs are indispensable to giving concrete meaning to the Convention. Over the past year, 10 donor countries have initiated close to 100 new mine action programs in 25 countries. Donors such as Canada, Norway, the



European Union, the United States and Japan have mobilized significant new resources to that end.

Not only has the number of mine action programs increased, but they are also being undertaken more systematically, with better record keeping and, as a result of new technologies, more rapidly, efficiently and safely than ever before.

Survey work is the best insurance that mine clearance resources are dedicated to the neediest places where the impact will be highest. In the last year, a consortium of NGOs known as the Survey Contact Group teamed up with the UN system to establish standard procedures as well as a strategic approach to survey the most mine-affected states as quickly as possible.

As a result of mine action programs around the world, ranging from the onerous and time-consuming process of mine clearance, to more cost-effective and targeted programs of mine awareness, to minefield marking projects, the number of new mine victims is decreasing in many states. In Bosnia, monthly incidents in 1998 dropped from 90 to 18, in Cambodia from 230 per month in 1996 to 100 per month in 1998. In Nicaragua there were only two landmine-related deaths last year. We should not underestimate the task ahead, but this is encouraging news.

In our hemisphere, a wide range of new mine action programs are planned or underway in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Honduras, Colombia, and El Salvador.

In co-operation with the OAS [Organization of American States] and Norway, Canada has set aside \$1 million for a demining program in Northern Nicaragua along the Honduras border. Canada is also pleased to provide \$100 000 to procure equipment to assist Peru and Ecuador in undertaking — more safely and quickly — demining efforts related to the demarcation of their common border.

The devastation of Hurricane Mitch in Central America extended to mine action efforts. To ensure that safe and efficient mine action can take place as soon as possible, Canada provided \$100 000 to support an OAS assessment mission to Central America aimed at taking stock of the hurricane's effect in this area.

While demining is a firmly established priority, increased emphasis also needs to be placed on the reintegration of survivors into social and economic life. The international community is working together to establish goals and standards for victim assistance and to better co-ordinate the delivery of programming in this area.

In our region, Canada is co-operating with Mexico and PAHO [Pan American Health Organization] on mine victim rehabilitation activities. We have committed \$3.5 million over five years to support a community-based rehabilitation program with Nicaragua,

El Salvador, and Honduras. In Guatemala, Canada and Israel are working with local authorities to promote rehabilitation of landmine victims.

With concerted effort, common sense, and co-ordination, we can beat the landmines challenge. In years and not decades. The Ottawa Convention provides the road map and comprehensive framework for mine action. We are making progress in reaching our destination. But the biggest challenge ahead may be waning enthusiasm. For that reason, we must continually recommit ourselves to achieving our goals — universal ratification, maintaining public and political momentum, and effective mine action and victim rehabilitation programs — in other words, implementing the Treaty.

Here, the role of our hemispheric institution, the OAS, is vital. The OAS is unique among regional organizations in taking on the mine action challenge through the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy and by careful tasking of the IADB [Inter-American Defense Board].

OAS work in this area has provided a model for other regional organizations. We congratulate Secretary-General Gavira, the OAS Secretariat and the member states for the impressive action taken to deal with the anti-personnel mine challenge. We believe the OAS should work closely with the UN to ensure that mine action efforts in the Americas is effectively co-ordinated and to prevent any overlap.

Indeed, we believe that the OAS, with appropriate support from its members and observer states, could take on much of the ongoing mine action responsibilities for the region, freeing the UN to focus on other regions that do not have the benefit of OAS infrastructure, organization and experience.

But the challenge in this region will extend beyond Central America. As we look to the full and effective implementation of Ottawa Convention commitments, the OAS may need to play more of a role in assisting member states to meet their mine action objectives including destroying stockpiles, identifying, marking and mapping mined areas, demining and destroying anti-personnel mines, and victim assistance.

Here OAS member states have already taken important decisions at the regional level that complement and reinforce Ottawa Convention commitments, such as the establishment at the Caracas General Assembly of a regional anti-personnel mine register. Transparency is key in combatting the anti-personnel mine challenge. We would invite all countries that are not signatories to the Convention — in this region and elsewhere — to voluntarily submit information under Article 7 of the Ottawa Convention, particularly on stocks, mine action programs and unilateral measures taken to stop the use and trade of anti-personnel mines.



We are making progress. This seminar, in particular the participation of both governments and civil society, maintains the spirit of the Ottawa Process and, I am confident, will help move us further in the direction of a world without landmines.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

99/3

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE  
INSTITUTO TECNOLÓGICO AUTÓNOMO DE MÉXICO (ITAM)  
"CANADA'S HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA FOR THE HEMISPHERE"

MEXICO CITY, Mexico  
January 11, 1999  
(6:00 p.m. EST)

This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





In recent years, Canada and Mexico have come to know each other better. As our relationship develops, partnerships and co-operation — international, regional and bilateral — have grown considerably. An important part of this has been the expanding number and variety of direct contacts — economic, political, social, cultural and academic — between Canadians and Mexicans. In that regard, I am very pleased to be with you to share some thoughts on Canada's foreign policy.

As both students and practitioners of international politics, you are well aware that security — obtaining and maintaining it — has been a traditional *leitmotif* in global politics. Indeed, Mexico has been a leader in building multilateral agreements to advance global security, notably in the area of disarmament and arms control. This was reflected most clearly through Mexico's leadership in developing the Treaty of Tlaltelolco, for which, among his other accomplishments, former Foreign Minister Garcia Robles was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1982.

Today, I would like to address the evolving challenges to global security in a changing world, review Canada's response, discuss the hemispheric dimension, and focus on one issue in particular — the fight against illicit drugs.

### **The Challenge Of Human Security**

The events of the past decade have diverted the global community from the well-worn trails of the Cold War to new, uncharted paths toward the next century. As a result, our traditional guidebook for global security is in need of an update. A few certainties have emerged from the new world disorder to help give us our bearings.

Civilians are increasingly the main victims and targets of violent conflicts — especially the most vulnerable. This is partly the result of a change in the complexion of war. The majority of conflicts now occur inside rather than between states. Regardless, the world has witnessed human tragedies of devastating proportions — massive refugee flows and the grossest violations of humanitarian law, including genocide.

The nature of threats to global security is evolving. Many are multifaceted, and have a transnational dimension. The challenges posed by illicit drugs, terrorism, environmental despoliation, human rights abuses and weapons proliferation respect no borders, but cut across many disciplines. They cannot be solved unilaterally. They do, however, have a direct impact on us through the safety of our streets, the air we breathe, the quality of our lives.

No one is immune — we are all affected. The inescapable truth of our lives today is they are more connected than ever. We live in the age of the World Wide Web — far-off concerns, isolated from our own lives, are a thing of the past. And while globalization presents opportunities, it can also expose all of us — especially the most vulnerable — to economic and social insecurity.

The common denominator of these new realities is their human dimension. Our changing world has increasingly put the individual, more precisely, the security of the individual, at the centre of global affairs. As a result, the safety and well-being of the individual — human security — has become a new measure of global security.

Promoting humanitarian objectives — protection from abuse, reducing risks of physical endangerment, improving the quality of life, and creating the tools to guarantee these goals — should provide, and indeed are providing, a new impetus for concerted global action.

The international community is being mobilized to address subjects that affect everyday lives. These new threats require that we see security increasingly in terms of human, rather than state needs. This is not to deny that traditional state-based security concerns are obsolete. Human security and national security are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they are opposites sides of the same global security coin.

### **Canada's Response**

It is within this context that Canada has been reshaping and refocussing our own foreign policy priorities. We are increasingly occupied with issues that strike directly home to the individual. This human security-centred approach to global relations is based on a number of elements:

**Engagement not isolationism:** Canadians have long been open to the world. This openness creates both prosperity and vulnerabilities. Sooner or later, directly or indirectly, others' insecurity becomes our problem, and in some cases, our insecurity. The transboundary nature of many of the challenges we face makes co-operative action at different levels global, regional and local, all the more essential if they are to be tackled effectively.

**Advancing fundamental standards of humanity:** New and updated international humanitarian and human rights instruments will help to guarantee protection for individuals. They serve to expand the reach and scope of humanitarian norms. They set a higher standard of global behaviour to which we are all bound. This was the objective behind our strong support for the creation of the International Criminal Court.

**Promoting peacebuilding:** Human security can be enhanced by strengthening the capacity of a society to manage its differences without violence. This is why we established the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative two years ago. Working with civil society, the initiative funds practical projects to build democratic institutions, increase local capacity— for example training for legislators, jurists, public servants, or creating an independent media — all with a view to establishing sustainable peace.



Reforming existing international and regional organizations: Institutions established in a different era, such as the United Nations Security Council and the OAS [Organization of American States], need to better reflect the changing nature of threats to peace and security — especially their human dimension. This will give us the collective capacity not only to respond to crisis but to be proactive in moving human security forward. Canada takes its place on the Security Council this month. We will work to better integrate humanitarian concerns into the Council's agenda.

Pursuing new, innovative partnerships and coalitions: Canada is working in concert with other like-minded countries to advance global action on human security issues. However, it is evident that foreign policy is no longer simply the preserve of nation-states and diplomats. New players on the international scene, including non-governmental organizations, business associations, trade unions, and regional organizations have a growing influence. They can play a positive and productive role, which continues to be the case with the ban on anti-personnel mines, where civil society was instrumental in achieving our objectives.

Using soft power concepts — creatively: Negotiation rather than coercion, powerful ideas rather than powerful weapons, public diplomacy rather than backroom bargaining — these are effective means to pursue many elements of human security. In the information age, new communications tools, in particular, should, can, and have been used effectively in the service of our goals.

### **The Hemispheric Dimension**

In practical terms, all of these elements have resulted in more focus and activism in Canadian foreign policy on some key human security problems. We have brought this perspective to our engagement in the hemisphere. In many ways, human security concerns — and collective hemispheric responses to them — are already part of the regional agenda.

In this regard, the Santiago Summit was a milestone event. The four themes of the Summit - improving access to education, eradicating poverty and discrimination, strengthening and preserving democracy, justice and human rights and ensuring economic prosperity reflect a distinctly human-centred approach to hemispheric affairs. Our leaders have made these themes a collective priority. This demonstrates that we are already on the road to putting human security at the head of hemispheric concerns. Canada will host the next Summit. We are working actively with our hemispheric partners in translating the commitments made at the Summit into concrete progress.

Hemispheric security concerns have an increasingly human dimension. Strong regional support for efforts to ban anti-personnel mines vividly illustrates the human security agenda in action. Thirty-three member states of the OAS have signed the

Convention, and 14 have ratified it. Concrete efforts are under way to make the objectives of the Convention a reality in our own neighbourhood. Central American countries have made a firm commitment to eradicate landmines by the year 2000.

Canada and Mexico are working together in this area. This week, we organized a regional landmines conference aimed at taking stock and redoubling regional efforts. We were very pleased to have the active participation of civil society. The partnership that led to the Ottawa Convention is indispensable in realizing its goals.

The proliferation of small arms, like landmines, is a global security problem but one with an undeniable regional dimension. The proliferation of light, cheap weapons — the instrument of choice of terrorists, drug lords and criminals — is having a devastating impact on our societies. And it is the most vulnerable in our societies who suffer most.

Here too we are making progress. Last year, OAS member states signed the Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Material — a Mexican-led initiative. The first of its kind in the world, it targets the illegal trade in firearms through more effective controls on the legal trade. This is proof of our willingness and capacity to take collective action against crime and violence in the Americas — a very real threat to ordinary people.

We need to go further to address other aspects through practical approaches tailored to real problems on the ground: disarming and reintegrating child soldiers; taking weapons out of circulation in societies that are saturated with them; and retraining and re-equipping people in these societies so that they can lead peaceful and productive lives.

Stable and open societies provide a firm foundation for enhancing human security. Hemispheric leaders affirmed this at Santiago with their emphasis on democracy, justice and human rights. Three areas of focus are peacebuilding, integrating all sectors into the political, economic and social lives of our societies, and strengthening democratic institutions.

Societies emerging from conflict need particular attention. Through our peacebuilding initiative, Canada is supporting a number of projects in Central America aimed at building local capacity to manage differences without violence, and creating the conditions for sustainable peace. Today, Foreign Secretary Green and I announced a joint Canada-Mexico program with the Pan American Health Organization to assist landmine victims in Central America.

A great collective challenge for us is to promote greater social equity while pursuing economic reform and sustainable growth. All of our citizens, including women,



children, the disabled and our indigenous peoples, must be able to live in societies that reflect their interests, satisfy their legitimate aspirations and guarantee real participation in and access to the political, economic and social life of our countries.

Strengthening national human rights frameworks and the inter-American human rights system are the twin instruments to move this issue forward. I am particularly encouraged that indigenous issues are beginning to register with greater resonance on the hemispheric radar. Indeed, Mexico and Canada have been working to build links between our indigenous communities with a particular emphasis on developing business partnerships.

Progress in these areas must be accompanied by a commitment to strengthening democratic institutions, especially legislatures and judiciaries. Canada played a significant role in the development of concrete commitments at Santiago — focussing on access to justice, independence of the judiciary in systems of criminal justice, organized and transnational crime, children and youth, and more regular contact among justice ministers of the hemisphere.

Legislatures are also key for the effective functioning of representative democracies. At the first Summit of the Americas in Miami, our leaders tasked the OAS with encouraging exchanges of experiences among our legislatures. The OAS has followed up on this by organizing the first meeting of a network of parliamentary leaders of the Americas in Santo Domingo in November. This network is an important step in building parliamentary exchanges within the framework of the OAS — a process endorsed by foreign ministers at the OAS General Assembly in Caracas last June.

Advancing human security requires not only that we look at what issues we address but how we address them. To this end, the time has come to further redefine the interaction between governments and non-state actors, through dialogue, consultation and participation to meet emerging challenges and threats. Strengthening civil society is not only a key element in the consolidation of democracy. It promotes accountability, and contributes to the formulation of better policy by taking into account the concerns, preoccupations and expertise held by citizens.

At the regional level, Summit leaders endorsed increased dialogue between governments and civil society. At the OAS, we are collectively working to modernize the relationship of the Organization with civil society.

We need to continue the reform of our regional institutions to better respond to human security challenges. Undersecretary-General Gaviria, the OAS has been developing a new vision of its role as the hemisphere's principal political and social forum. The establishment of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy and the expansion of the Organization's Committee on Hemispheric Security to include

human security issues demonstrate the Organization's capacity to adapt its role to the challenges of the next century. The mandate given to the Organization by Summit leaders will add further momentum and shape to the OAS modernization process.

As we pursue reform at the OAS, Secretary Green, U.S. Secretary of State Albright and I have discussed how to complement these efforts through greater co-operation among the three North American countries in addressing emerging human and social challenges. We agreed on an agenda for trilateral co-operation that emphasizes our common identity as North Americans. From this flows unique challenges and opportunities to pursue closer continental co-operation across a broad range of human security issues.

For example, as North Americans we should be working more closely together on common environmental challenges, continental disaster relief operations, more people-to-people exchanges involving students, academics, indigenous peoples, government officials, and the private sector, just to mention a few. Secretary Green, Secretary Albright and myself are taking up this challenge because it can improve the daily lives of our citizens, and it builds on what we share in common. We will meet again in the coming months to review progress.

### **Illicit Drugs**

Human security concerns are clearly a growing part of the hemispheric agenda. The dimensions of these challenges have an impact on the way we do business, and are encouraging us to look at new partnerships and approaches.

One threat — illicit drugs — poses a major human security challenge for the governments and peoples of the hemisphere. It is a problem that affects us all: from the street children whose lives are destroyed by sniffing glue day after day, to the citizens whose taxes are raised to pay for policing of trafficking routes, and states whose delicate relations are made even more complicated by the international politics of illicit drugs.

In many ways, it is a quintessential human security challenge: multifaceted, transnational, superficially attractive, ingeniously adaptive but brutally destructive. As such, it calls for a human security response: creative, multidimensional, co-operative yet decisive.

Much is already being done in this regard. Many governments have national drug strategies that include efforts to reduce demand through educational and health programs, to reduce supplies through eradication or alternative development, and to control trafficking through interdiction, law enforcement or measures to counter money laundering.



Non-governmental organizations also play a major role through, for example, specialized research to guide public health interventions or through community development projects. The Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD) fosters co-operation among states in the Americas. Work is now under way in CICAD to establish a Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism. Various United Nation forums also foster the development of multilateral approaches to this problem.

As we have elsewhere, Canada and Mexico have collaborated extensively in these anti-drug bodies. Yet we believe that more must be done to counter this threat, and to address fully its impact on human security. Failure to advance in our common fight against illicit drugs will undermine other objectives like hemispheric integration and democratic consolidation.

That is why Canada offered, at the Santiago Summit last year, to convene a Foreign Ministers Dialogue on Drugs in the Americas. The idea has been well received by others, including the Government of Mexico. We very much appreciated Mexico's leadership in proposing the UN General Assembly Special Session last summer, and look forward to Mexico's contribution to this initiative.

We are discussing options for a first meeting on the margins of the OAS General Assembly in Guatemala. To that end, I am distributing to my colleagues a paper for reflection suggesting five areas for discussion:

1. Governance: Fragile democratic institutions and the absence of full guarantees for human rights can undermine anti-drug efforts. Foreign Ministers could explore options for enhancing the capacity of police and judicial institutions to enforce the law, while guaranteeing justice and human rights. They could also discuss ways of building on efforts to minimize corruption and curtail the political influence of drug-related criminal organization.
2. Small arms and firearms: The illicit proliferation of small arms and firearms adds to the arsenals of drug traffickers, undercuts law enforcement and jeopardizes public security. Ministers could work together to promote the ratification of the Inter-American Firearms convention, the development of complementary global instruments and the strengthening of domestic institutions charged with implementing these standards.
3. Development and trade: The difficulties of sustaining legal alternatives to the cultivation of plant-based drugs, and of gaining access to markets for those legal goods, complicates supply-reduction efforts. The Dialogue Group could explore ways of working together to generate greater support for alternative development, and to increase market access for legal alternatives to illicit drug crops.



4. Education and health: Many promising programs are under way to educate youth and other high-risk groups on the alternatives to drug abuse, and to treat those who do end up abusing those substances. Foreign Ministers might discuss how we can enhance international co-operation in this area, and promote research on the effectiveness of demand-reduction programs in different national settings.

5. Public engagement: Recent international agreements, including the Santiago Plan of Action and several documents adopted at the UN General Assembly Special Session on the World Drug Problem, call for greater collaboration with civil society organizations working on drugs and broader human security issues. We believe that Foreign Ministers could do more to encourage public initiatives, and to involve sectors of the public in a dialogue on policy options in this area.

These are not the only drug-related issues of concern in the hemisphere. Yet they are matters on which we believe Foreign Ministers could make a significant contribution. They would help to ensure coherence among existing efforts, to reinforce promising initiatives that deserve more support, and especially to foster innovation in engaging our citizens in the search for solutions.

Each of these issues is complex. Their discussion requires careful preparation and consultation with a range of stakeholders. With this in mind, we have asked a consortium of independent research centres to organize a conference in early spring, to generate more ideas for the Foreign Ministers Dialogue in June. We look forward to the active participation of Mexican experts at that conference. And we are confident that Canada and Mexico can work together to make the Dialogue a productive contribution to the construction of human security in the hemisphere.

## **Conclusion**

Our changing world has redefined traditional notions of security. Increasingly, the security challenges we face and our impetus for action — global, regional or local — are based on the security of the individual. I have outlined how Canada is responding, and have highlighted the hemispheric dimension of our efforts, especially the challenges posed by illicit drugs.

Over the next few years, Canada will host a series of hemispheric events ending with the next Hemispheric Summit. We are committed to strengthening links with the hemisphere, and in so doing to advance human security in the region. Canada and Mexico have established a sound partnership, which will allow us, together, to play a leadership role in promoting this objective.

I look forward to your questions. Thank you.



# Statement

CANADA ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL 1999-2000

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ONU2000UN>

99/4

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO  
THE NATIONAL FORUM

MONTREAL, Quebec  
January 22, 1999  
(1:15 p.m. EST)

This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>







Canada is off and running. Three weeks ago, we took our seat at the Security Council table. Even in that brief period, the Council has been engaged in a number of crises — in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Angola, and Iraq. The future promises to be no less active. The demands of Council membership are fully proving to be as challenging and as unpredictable as we had anticipated.

It was for that reason that we invested significant energy in preparing for our tenure. As several observers have rightly noted, the election process was long and demanding. However, it was time well spent. Like other campaigns, we used it to listen to, consult, and canvass extensively the views of our constituents: the UN membership and the Canadian public. We had the opportunity to try out ideas and to convince others about the direction that we wanted the Council to take in a much changed international environment.

As you know, Canada won its Council mandate with an unprecedented majority. This confers considerable credibility to our presence there. Evidently, our platform — based on human security and developed with extensive input from Canadians — had great resonance with the UN's membership. With this endorsement in hand, we are ready to bring our approach to the Council's business.

Recently, certain commentators have offered opinions about Canada's role on the Council and reactions to our plans. Coming only three months after our election and three years after our campaign began, I am gratified they are now prepared to offer advice. I have no doubt that as they inform themselves better about the realities facing the Council and listen harder to what Canadians have been saying about our place in the world and at the UN — as we have been doing — they will be able to comment constructively on what we are trying to achieve.

For our part, we will continue the process of consultation with Canadians. To that end, I am pleased to announce today the launch of a new Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Web site dealing with Canada at the United Nations. It provides the latest information about our Council activities while giving Canadians a place to relay comments and suggestions. In addition, the latest issue of *Canada World View*, the Department's foreign policy magazine, focusses on our involvement at the UN, including our latest Security Council tenure.

I am also very happy to have this opportunity to address the second in a series of National Forum discussions on Canada and the Security Council. The National Forum process has proved to be useful in involving Canadians in foreign policy issues. I have no doubt that these meetings will be as productive as past consultations have been.

The first forum held in Saint John, New Brunswick, two weeks ago generated animated discussion. The level of participation was high and the interventions well prepared. This attests to the lively, encouraging and enduring interest Canadians feel

toward the United Nations — an institution that is an integral part of our global persona and an organization that we have worked so hard to nurture.

Today, I would like to describe briefly some of the ways I believe the world has changed since we last served on the Security Council, review how Canada has responded to these changes, and then outline some of the ways we have proposed to use our tenure to update the Council while addressing Canada's priorities.

## **A Changed International Context**

Canada last held a seat on the Security Council ten years ago. During our tenure, the verities of the Cold War were just beginning to give way to a new, uncharted path to the future. This evolution has continued. While some may choose to ignore it, as we take our place at the Council table, the global context in which the Council operates, the membership it represents, and the challenges it faces are considerably different than a decade ago.

However, global peace and security — obtaining it and maintaining it — remains the central concern of the international community and the main responsibility of the Council. Yet, as the world has changed, and continues to change, so too has our definition of peace and security. As a result, our game plan is in need of an update. To this end, a few certainties have emerged to guide us.

Most importantly, as recent events in Kosovo and Angola tragically demonstrate, civilians are increasingly the main victims and targets of violent conflicts. Especially the most vulnerable. It is estimated that 90 percent of casualties from armed conflict are civilian. This is partly the result of a change in the complexion of war. The majority of conflicts now occur inside rather than between states. Sometimes, internal conflicts have an international dimension or vice versa. Regardless of its origins, violent conflict has produced human tragedies of devastating proportions — massive refugee flows and the grossest violations of humanitarian law, including genocide.

The nature of threats to global security is evolving. Traditional military conflicts remain a concern. But the risks posed by others, often multifaceted and transnational, have sharpened. The challenges posed by illicit drugs, terrorism, environmental despoliation, human rights abuses and weapons proliferation respect no borders but cut across many disciplines. They can not be solved unilaterally. They do, however, have a direct impact on us through the safety of our streets, the air we breathe, the quality of our lives.

Isolationism is no option. The unalterable fact of our lives today is that they are more connected than ever. We live in a wired world, with open markets, porous borders and real-time reporting of wars. Far off concerns, isolated from our own lives, are a



thing of the past. And while globalization can be positive, it can also expose all of us — especially the most vulnerable — to economic and social insecurity.

The common denominator of these new realities is their human dimension. Our changing world has increasingly put the individual and, more precisely, the security of the individual, at the centre of global affairs. As a result, the safety and well-being of the individual — human security — has become a new measure of global security.

Promoting humanitarian objectives — protection from abuse, reducing risks of physical endangerment, improving quality of life, and creating the tools to guarantee these goals — should and are providing a new impetus for concerted global action.

The international community is being mobilized to address subjects that affect everyday lives. These new threats require that we see security increasingly in terms of human, rather than state needs. This is not to say that traditional state-based security concerns are obsolete. Indeed, human security and national security are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they are opposite sides of the same global security coin.

### **Canada's Response**

Canada's foreign policy priorities and activities have also evolved since our last tenure on the Security Council. In response to the new global realities, we are increasingly focussed on issues that strike directly home to the individual. This human-centred approach adapts longstanding Canadian foreign policy goals — advancing national interests while building a better world — to new international circumstances. It is complementary, not an alternative to, state security concerns, and is based on a number of elements:

**Engagement not isolationism:** Canadians have long been open to the world. This openness creates both prosperity and vulnerabilities. Sooner or later, directly or indirectly, others' insecurity becomes our problem and, in some cases, our insecurity. The transboundary nature of many of the challenges we face makes co-operative action at different levels — global, regional and local — all the more essential if they are to be tackled effectively.

**Promoting peacebuilding:** Human security can be enhanced by strengthening the capacity of a society to manage its differences without violence. This is why we established the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative two years ago. Working with civil society, the Initiative funds practical projects to build democratic institutions, increase local capacity, for example, training for legislators, jurists, public servants, or creating an independent media — all with a view to establishing sustainable peace.



Advancing fundamental standards of humanity: New and updated international humanitarian and human rights instruments will help to guarantee protection for individuals. They serve to expand the reach and scope of humanitarian norms. They set a higher standard of global behaviour to which we are all bound. This was the objective, for example, behind our strong support for the conclusion of the UN Convention for the Protection of Humanitarian Workers and the creation of the International Criminal Court.

Reforming existing international and regional organizations: Institutions established in a different era, such as the United Nations Security Council and the OAS [Organization of American States], need to better reflect the changing nature of threats to peace and security — especially the human dimension of these threats. This will give us the collective capacity not only to respond to crises but to be proactive in moving human security forward. We have been making efforts to this end at the OAS and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe]. As I will outline below, we intend to bring this approach to the Security Council during our tenure.

Pursuing new, innovative partnerships and coalitions: Canada is working in concert with other like-minded countries to advance global action on human security issues. For example, Canada, with Norway, has established a flexible framework for co-operation among like-minded countries from all continents to advance action on human security issues, for example, children in armed conflict and the proliferation of small arms. In our hemisphere, I am pursuing discussions with my colleagues about how to address the impact of illicit drugs on our societies.

However, it is evident that foreign policy is no longer only the prerogative of nation-states and diplomats. New actors on the international scene, including non-governmental organizations, business associations, and trade unions have a growing influence. They can play a positive role in achieving our objectives as was, and continues to be, the case with the ban on anti-personnel mines.

Using soft power concepts — creatively: Negotiation rather than coercion, powerful ideas rather than powerful weapons, public diplomacy rather than backroom bargaining — these are effective means to pursuing many elements of human security, an approach Canada is particularly well suited to use. In the information age, new communications tools in particular should, can, and have been used effectively in the service of our goals.

Finally, using robust action — when necessary: Let there be no mistake. Promoting human security can also involve the use of strong measures including sanctions and military force. Canadians have fought and died — including in two world wars — in defence of human freedom and security. Our pursuit of human security confirms this tradition. We have been firm in confronting the challenges of weapons of mass

destruction — from Saddam Hussein's defiance of the UN to nuclear testing in the Indian subcontinent.

In Kosovo, it is the defence of humanitarian objectives — the protection of civilian lives — which brought NATO to the brink of using military force last autumn. Faced with a renewed crisis now, a military response may yet be required. Canada stands ready to do what is necessary to ensure that this human crisis is resolved.

Our focus on human security should therefore not be misconstrued as softness. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how dealing with the devastating impact of landmines, the proliferation of small arms, the scourge of drugs, the exploitation of children, preventive measures against war crimes — and organizing concrete global action to confront them — could be interpreted by some as a sign of weakness.

In fact, it is more a direct expression of how the Canadian experience of using talents of accommodation, negotiation and goodwill to overcome differences — leading to a unified tolerant Canada — has application and use internationally. We are called upon to give leadership, training and direction on peacekeeping, drug interdiction, policing and the development of innovative approaches to overseas aid. Our resources are not unlimited but they are put to good use. And when conditions warrant, we are prepared to use vigorous action in defence of human security objectives.

### **The Security Council and Human Security**

The United Nations Security Council remains the paramount global instrument to safeguard peace and security. A strong, effective and purposeful Security Council is therefore essential. However, as Canada takes its seat at the Council table, the Council faces challenges to its credibility. It is falling short of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the international community.

The Council has not been immune to the new realities of the international system. Canada's last mandate (1989-1990) coincided with the end of the Cold War and a renaissance in multilateralism. Superpower rivalry gave way to greater co-operation. At the Council, there was a surge of activism and engagement. Between 1991 and 1993, the Council launched 15 new peace operations compared to 17 in the previous half century.

Even more remarkable was the Council's willingness to address civil and intra-communal conflicts. These were uncharted waters for a body originally conceived to manage more traditional inter-state security issues. The Council authorized a series of "second generation" peace operations, for example, in El Salvador, Haiti, Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia. They had complex mandates, often including democratization, human rights protection and humanitarian assistance alongside



more traditional peacekeeping roles. There was optimism — and high expectations — about what multilateral action could achieve.

Unfortunately, this era of euphoria has given way to a period of relative inertia. The Council has limited its involvement in an increasing number of conflicts. It can be uneven on which conflicts it chooses to focus: for example, there is a perception that resources are focussed on Europe at the expense of Africa. And it is entirely inactive in responding to some of the new challenges to human security. Setbacks in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda have diminished the resolve of Council members to stay the course. However, other factors affect the Security Council's capacity to act, some rooted in resurgent isolationist and unilateralist impulses, others in a renewed pursuit of narrow national self-interest — and, most disturbingly, in the shortage of funds caused by the arrears in payments of several states.

The result has far-reaching implications for the Council. While obliged by the UN Charter to carry out Council decisions, some countries may begin to choose not to do so. In the absence of strong, coherent global action, would-be aggressors may be tempted to act — whether their targets are other states or civilian populations within their own borders. Weakened collective security places undue burdens on individual countries, ad hoc coalitions, and regional organizations that do not always possess the capacity or legitimacy to respond effectively.

Canada's mandate comes at a historic juncture. It is an opportune moment to try to renew the vigour with which the Security Council approached its tasks earlier this decade. Canada will work to shape a more proactive Council, one which focusses more on the human dimension of security and the unprecedented civilian toll of modern conflict. We will endeavour to do so by working to broaden the Council's agenda and decisions to include human security themes, to reassert the Council's leadership, and to make its operations more transparent and responsive to the UN membership.

The Council has made progress toward broadening its mandate. The interpretation of what constitutes a threat to international peace and security — the litmus test for Council action — now includes intra-state issues. The need to respect state sovereignty has by no means withered. Indeed, it remains important. But this notion has been challenged — in some cases outweighed — by the need to act in support of purely humanitarian goals, to restore stability, and in defence of the security of the individual as in Cambodia, Somalia, Mozambique or Haiti.

To address today's security agenda, the Council must embrace an even more comprehensive, updated view of its mandate. We will work to enhance the Council's capacity to address new, non-traditional threats to security such as ethnic conflict, mass refugee flows, illicit small arms trafficking, gross human rights abuses, failures of governance and the rule of law, and abject human deprivation.



There are positive trends to build on. The Council has held debates on emerging, cross-cutting security issues such as child soldiers, and some members have made efforts to broaden the Council's purview to encompass others such as terrorism and mass refugee flows.

Such debates help to put emerging issues on the Security Council's radar. These should continue with more active follow-up. We intend to use our Council presidency, beginning in February, to address the protection of civilians in armed conflict including the safety of humanitarian workers, the displaced and refugees, and the special needs of war-affected children.

We also will seek to ensure that human security concerns are incorporated into the Council's actions and decisions. For example, in establishing new peace operations, the Council has sought to reflect the multifaceted response needed to build lasting peace, including where appropriate, human rights, peacebuilding, rule of law, democratization and humanitarian components. The UN's current operations in Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic and Bosnia are recent examples. We will ensure that this practice is continued and strengthened.

The Council could make more active use of conflict prevention instruments. The best way to enhance human security is to prevent violent conflict from occurring in the first place. For example, the deployment of the UN mission in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] has helped to ensure that the Balkans conflict did not spill over into that country. Good offices missions and the deployment of Special Representatives also can be useful tools, provided that the Council is prepared to deploy the necessary resources to back them up when necessary.

We should also examine carefully the use of sanctions by the Council. They are a powerful tool and need to be used appropriately to be effective and credible. For that reason, all aspects of sanction regimes — the objectives, the type, the targets, the implementation, conditions and timing of their suspension — need to be considered closely and continually monitored by the Council for their cost-effectiveness from a strategic and human security perspective.

That is why Canada made its proposal, now being considered by the Council, concerning the Iraqi situation. To move forward, the Council needs clarity. To that end, we have suggested two separate assessments be prepared regarding disarmament and the humanitarian situation. We hope that this information will allow the Council to agree on a way forward that balances the need for compliance with its obligations by the Iraqi regime and the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people.

Efforts to broaden the Council's horizons in its words and deeds need to be complemented by a reassertion of the Council's leadership. This means that the

Council's authority, especially concerning the possible use of military force, be respected. We sideline the Council at our own risk. But it also means that the Council must assume its responsibilities — and take hard decisions — when the need arises.

The Council must also correct its tendency to focus selectively on certain conflicts while neglecting others. The Council's writ is universal. It represents the entire international community. Consequently, its credibility depends on a willingness to address threats to peace and security wherever they occur. And when it decides to act, it needs to have the resources to do so effectively. The progressive starvation of peacekeeping resources, human and financial, is a matter of deep concern.

When the Council takes action, its decisions must be adhered to. For example, in Angola, the Council imposed an arms embargo on UNITA [National Union of the Total Independence of Angola] forces. This was a welcome, precedent-setting move that for the first time aimed UN sanctions at a non-state entity. However, evidence suggests that this embargo is not being respected. The result is a country awash with weapons, making the conflict harder to resolve and endangering the security of both Angolans and international personnel — as we have tragically seen in the past month.

Sanction busters need to be identified and held accountable. As chair of the Angola Sanctions Committee, Canada will work to this end, in particular by ensuring full compliance with existing sanctions relating to oil, diamonds, and arms while recommending further measures as appropriate. Our goal is to limit the ability to make war while encouraging progress toward peace.

Leadership also requires imagination and outreach. The instruments to address the new security agenda exist — in the Security Council's own tool kit and among the vast panoply of international, regional, national and civil society organizations. What is needed is leadership to bring these together to address the multi-dimensional aspects of these conflicts.

The Council should redouble efforts to collaborate with other international bodies, including key UN agencies, and with non-state actors in mobilizing and co-ordinating resources while fully respecting their respective jurisdictions and mandates. The Council is moving in this direction; the head of the UN's Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], and the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] are in contact with the Council in an attempt to ensure that their activities and concerns are reflected in the Council's deliberations.

Also to this end, Canada has promoted and will continue to promote collaboration between the Council and other regional and sub-regional security organizations as we have in Haiti between the UN and the OAS, or in Bosnia where the UN, the OSCE



and NATO all have their roles. Such arrangements must spring from willing and effective partnerships, not from a void created by Security Council inaction. Pressures to contract out the Council's ultimate responsibility for peace and security to other bodies must be resisted.

To be a leader, the Council must also be ready to act — rapidly. For this reason, Canada continues to support the creation of the UN Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters. This will allow the Council to quickly establish an initial beachhead for a UN peace mission, thereby increasing the chances for effective and timely Council action.

Finally, to be more effective, the Council also needs to be more inclusive. Canada will continue to promote greater participation by non-Council countries whose nationals, military or civilian, are involved in the conflicts on which the Council is deliberating. For example, the Council's decisions on peace operations have a direct bearing on those participating in them. Their governments should have a substantial say in these decisions.

This means formalized and timely consultations with troop-contributing countries. It means finding ways to allow non-members to contribute to informal Council meetings, without diminishing Council members prerogative to meet in camera as well. And it means providing greater information flow from the Council presidency and the Secretary-General to the wider UN membership. Here, too, there has been progress on which we can build.

We could also seek opportunities for the Council to draw more systematically on the views and insights of NGOs and other civil society actors with direct experience on the ground. Currently, their views are infrequently solicited by the Council and only on an ad hoc basis.

These and other concrete proposals have the backing of a majority of UN member states. Far from constraining the Council's efficiency, they will improve the decisions the Council takes and render its actions more effective.

Before concluding, I should like to add a few words concerning Security Council expansion and the use of the veto. These are important subjects. However, efforts to reform the Council in these areas and Canada's position should not be confused with our current membership on the Council nor our agenda during our tenure. These issues have been under consideration by the UN membership as a whole for several years. Canada has and will continue to be actively engaged in discussions on this subject in the appropriate UN working group. However, Canada has not launched, nor do we have any plans to launch, new initiatives on either issue.



Concerning expansion, Canada supports enlarging the Council between six to ten seats, covering all regions in the non-permanent category only. Adding new permanent members would only deepen the existing imbalance between unelected, unaccountable permanent members and the vast majority of others, including major UN supporters such as Canada. With regard to the veto, Canada believes that limiting its use to issues concerning threats to and breaches of the peace, as well as acts of aggression, would enhance the long-term effectiveness of the Council and better respect the original intentions of the drafters of the UN Charter.

## Conclusion

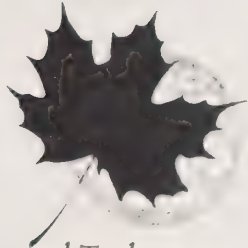
Since we last served on the Security Council, the world has changed. Canada's foreign policy has also evolved. However, what remains constant is the need for a strong, effective Security Council, capable of addressing the changing needs of our time.

Admittedly, we have an ambitious agenda. There are certainly no guarantees that we can achieve everything we set out to attain. We need to be realistic. And clearly, the real-time demands of the world will inevitably — indeed already have! — intruded on even the best-laid plans. Over the next two years, we will work to include human security concerns in the Security Council's activities, endeavour to help reassert the Council's leadership, and attempt to make it more transparent and responsive to the views of the international community.

The Security Council is not an institution open to revolutionary change, and Canada has no illusions about the feasibility of introducing sweeping reforms. We will apply ourselves to the substantive issues before the Council during our term, bringing our values and interests to bear on them. We will advance our human security agenda by working with other Council members to explore how and when it may be appropriate for the Council to take action in conflict situations in which it may not have become engaged in the past. The Security Council in recent years has in fact moved in the direction that Canada is advocating.

I have outlined some of the ways in which we plan to pursue our objectives. I look forward to hearing your views. These will serve to refine our own and provide the input that we need to make Canada's contribution to the Council over the next 24 months the most effective and valuable possible.

Thank you.



*International Trade  
Commerce internationale*

# *Statement*

---

99/5

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE  
HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE  
BUSINESS NETWORKING LUNCHEON  
WITH THE  
CANADA-POLAND BUSINESS CLUB  
AND THE CANADIAN BUSINESS DELEGATION

WARSAW, Poland  
January 26, 1999  
(8:00 a.m. EST)

This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>







It is a real pleasure to be with you today, here in Warsaw. I am also delighted that so many of my Parliamentary colleagues have joined us. I know that, like me, they are looking forward to exploring the Old Town and its historic marketplace.

Let me just say how much we have enjoyed the wonderful hospitality of our Polish hosts. The warmth of your greeting has reinforced the strong bonds between our two countries and reminded us that, when we are in Poland, we are indeed among friends.

Nowhere is that relationship understood — or exemplified — better than here at the Canada–Poland Business Club. In just a few short years, this club has established itself as a driving force for increased trade and investment between us, and so it is with great admiration and appreciation that I join you this morning.

Just over two years ago, my predecessor as Minister for International Trade, Art Eggleton, addressed the Canada–Poland Business Club and delivered a very simple message: Canada wants to do business with Poland.

On that visit, Minister Eggleton led a delegation of some 25 Canadian companies and organizations. Today, I am joined by more than 70 Canadian companies — a strong indication of the growing interest in Poland and of our commitment to developing even stronger commercial ties.

Today, my message is not only that we want to do business with Poland, but also that we are here not for the quick deal but for the long term. We are not fair-weather friends. Indeed, we want to become partners in your future — a future filled with promise and bursting with potential.

And when we look at the strides Poland has made in just the past few years, when we see the obstacles you have overcome and the reforms you have introduced, we know that your resolve is clear, your determination firm and your purpose plain.

You have embraced a free market economy and, in doing so, have established your country as the key player in Central Europe.

Canada has long recognized Poland's potential, and, not surprisingly, you are already our most important trading partner in Central Europe. Two-way trade between us now stands at over \$311 million — more than double what it was just six years ago.

And that remarkable growth is continuing. From January to September 1998, our two-way trade increased by about 22 percent over the same period the previous year.

And as Poland and Canada have increased their trade, the number of success stories has multiplied. Just yesterday, I had the honour of witnessing the signing of important agreements in the areas of construction, environment, energy, professional and financial services, and education.

Three recent examples demonstrate the increasing complexity and scale of Canadian investment in Poland:

Royal Europa — the European arm of Royal Technologies Group from Ontario — has invested US\$34 million to build a facility that will manufacture building products for the vast European and East European markets. A further US\$30 million investment is expected in subsequent stages of the project.

McCain Foods has also decided to make a significant investment in Poland. The company will be building a factory in Strzelin, with plans to start production later this year. At US\$54 million, this is one of the largest Canadian investments ever made in Poland and is a clear demonstration of Canadian confidence in this market.

Canadians are also involved in one of the most exciting building projects currently under way in Poland: the construction of the grain handling facility and terminal at the port of Gdansk. Straight Crossing Group, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and Dessaport International are the Canadian partners in the U.S.–Canadian consortium that is behind this project, the first phase of which is worth nearly US\$77 million.

Canada's interest in developing trade with Poland is also reflected in the growing activity of Canada's export credit agency, which has had relations with Poland since the 1970s. Canada's Export Development Corporation (EDC) works closely with your own export credit agency, KUKE, to promote Canadian and Polish exports to third markets. In the area of project finance, EDC recently joined the Europort financial syndication.

So we are moving from strength to strength, and we are now at the point where we can really boost our commercial relationship into high gear.

And one of the most important aspects of our trade in goods is its breadth: no single sector accounts for more than 15 percent of our total trade in any given year. Spreading over many sectors, the foundation we have built is ready to support a much larger and richer volume of trade.

As we set about developing that trade, I believe one of the greatest obstacles we must overcome is our mutual lack of awareness — of one another and of the opportunities that await us. I hope that visits such as this one will remove the blinkers and let both sides see the tremendous future that can be ours.

I know that the work done by a number of organizations in both Canada and Poland is beginning to alert businesspeople to the tremendous opportunities that await us. And I want to thank all of them — many of which are represented here today — for their efforts.

As we strive to expand our commercial partnership, we also need to recognize and champion the fact that we begin with four distinct advantages.

First, there is the long-standing friendship between our two countries — a friendship reinforced by the nearly 800 000 Canadians of Polish descent. Today, the sons and daughters of those immigrants are among the leaders of Canadian business, and they provide a natural bridge between us.

We have also seen the growing bonds between the business communities in both countries. This is especially true between our respective small and medium-sized businesses — a fact that augurs well for our future together.

Second, we are countries that also share a history of co-operation on the international scene — from fighting side by side on the Western Front during World War II, to joint peacekeeping through the United Nations, to our current preparations to become allies in NATO.

Third, there is our ready access to larger markets: just as Poland can act as a gateway to the vast European markets, Canada can provide entrée to its trading partners in North America, Latin America and Asia-Pacific.

So not only can we be partners with one another, but we can also be bridges for one another into large and lucrative markets.

Fourth, I believe our efforts to increase trade and investment will prosper because there is a nearly perfect match between Poland's requirements and Canada's expertise.

For example, among Poland's most pressing priorities is the need to upgrade its telecommunications and information technology capacity, so that it can benefit from the new wave of technology sweeping the globe. Canada is a world leader in this area. And some of that expertise is represented in the business delegation on this trade mission.

There are many sectors in which Canada offers outstanding products and services that will be vital to Poland's future prosperity.

Of course, there are challenges to be overcome. For instance, Canada faces a handicap in exporting to Poland because of the higher duties imposed on our goods as opposed to those of the EU [European Union].

In addition, complicated and expensive certification and safety requirements are impediments to the free flow of Canadian goods into Poland, and are very real deterrents to some Canadian companies doing business here.



We are encouraged, therefore, by Poland's Council of Ministers' recent endorsement of the proposed law on testing and certification, which should greatly reduce the number of Canadian products to be tested.

In the days ahead, we will be focusing on these and other issues, so that the playing field is levelled and the key impediments to expanding commerce between us are eliminated.

Many years ago, a great explorer wrote, "The sea is dangerous and its storms terrible, but these obstacles have never been sufficient reason to remain ashore."

In the days ahead, we too will face challenges. No relationship that has such ambitious plans as ours could expect otherwise. But I am confident that together we can weather those storms.

After all, Poland has shown itself capable of rebuilding from the ruins of previous tempests. And after all, Warsaw's motto is "It defies the storms."

So let us continue our common journey with determination. And let us resolve not to be blown off course or diverted from our destiny, but to proceed as partners and continue as friends.

If we do so, I am convinced that the future of the Canadian-Polish trade relationship will be very bright indeed.

Thank you.



*International Trade*  
*Commerce international*

# *Statement*

---

99/6

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE  
CANADIAN BUSINESS DELEGATION BUSINESS SESSION

KYIV, Ukraine  
January 28, 1999  
(8:00 a.m. EST)

This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>







It is great to be here and to be with you in Ukraine — a country of great promise but also of great challenges.

This morning I want to speak very briefly about some of those challenges. I also want to assure you of our commitment to working as hard as we can to alleviate them. Our aim is to clear the way for you to enter this market more easily and to develop it more aggressively.

Let me state at the outset that Canada believes in Ukraine. We have watched with admiration as it has moved to democracy and a free market economy. It has established good relations with its neighbours, including Russia, and boasts a well-educated work force.

Ukraine has also been blessed with the world's best farmland and holds tremendous potential to be a regional powerhouse.

That's the bright side, and that is the side that has brought all of us to Ukraine today. But as businesspeople, you are also well aware of the other side — of the problems of doing business here and the structural challenges still to be overcome.

Jim Wright and others were here with some of you in October for a meeting of the Canada-Ukraine Intergovernmental Economic Commission. I'm told it was a good meeting, where progress and concerns were discussed frankly.

Last night I had a chance to express continuing Canadian concerns directly to President Kuchma and to Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Reform Serhiy Tihipko. Later today I will reinforce those messages when I meet with Prime Minister Pustovoytenko.

Our concerns are well known: we are dismayed by the pace of reform. We believe reform is essential to the future prosperity of Ukraine and to the prospects for Canadian involvement here.

Let me be clear: while our commitment to helping Ukraine through this difficult period of transition is unwavering, our patience is not inexhaustible. We will continue to make the case that if Canadian business leaders, such as yourselves, do not see significant progress in the days ahead, you are likely to seek other opportunities in other lands.

Both the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the G-7 have made it clear that there will be no additional funding for Ukraine. The time has come for Ukraine to put its own house in order and undertake the reforms that will allow it to stand on its own and succeed by itself.

Let me just quickly address a number of specific complaints that we have heard from businesspeople like you. I don't pretend that the list is exhaustive. If there are other,

specific problems or concerns that you've encountered, I would like to hear about them so that we can continue to press for change in areas of greatest interest to you.

But here are five of the major problems, as we see them.

First is a taxation system that is inconsistent and unpredictable. The tax rules in Ukraine are often unclear, making it difficult to forecast business revenues or return on investment. And the ever-changing nature of the tax system leaves companies open to expenses they cannot foresee.

Second, there needs to be greater transparency in rules-making generally. Too often, new regulations are introduced without warning or consultation, and the needs of business are too rarely considered in the formulation of those rules. Moreover, once regulations are introduced, they are sometimes unfairly applied and/or even made retroactive.

While Ukraine is anxious to join the WTO [World Trade Organization], all too often its trade policy is inconsistent with that body's guiding principles. If you want to join the club, you have to play by the rules. Period.

Further, bureaucrats exercise a great deal of discretion in administering or enforcing regulations. All of this has produced an unpredictable and uncertain business environment. And nothing will scare off trade and investment faster than uncertainty and red tape.

Third, Ukraine's failure to accept generally applied accounting principles makes it extremely difficult to evaluate business opportunities, especially as they relate to joint ventures. More generally, Ukraine has no agreed testing and accreditation system in place for any existing international standards. As a result, certification tends to be more about producing revenues than ensuring competence.

Fourth, financing is severely underdeveloped for export sales and business ventures. Investors are sometimes made to feel unwelcome and Ukraine has been slow to respond to the efforts of our own Export Development Corporation. In an age when money can be transferred at the press of a button, investors can and will move their resources to more accommodating venues.

And, regrettably, Ukraine has already seen Canadian dollars go elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Fifth and finally, the lack of clear property ownership rights is hindering the development — and redevelopment — of many commercial and residential properties.

In each of these areas — taxation, transparency, standards, financing and property rights — Ukraine simply must do better if international investors are to do more.

I must say again, however, that to recite these difficulties is not to dispute the opportunities. One area that offers great promise, for example, is energy conservation.

According to some energy experts, and I quote, “Ukraine is the world’s most wasteful and energy-intensive country. And until policy makers solve this problem, economic recovery is not possible.”

Now, as Canadians, we understand cold weather. We understand the importance of getting energy costs into line. We are also world leaders in energy-saving technology. And so there is a tremendous market here in Ukraine for the very expertise we offer.

Another area of great promise is education. Increasingly, we have come to see Canadian educational products as export commodities like any other.

Just yesterday, for example, I had the privilege of announcing the establishment of a Canadian Learning Centre, which will be opened shortly at the Canadian Embassy. This Centre will support Canadian studies programs at Ukrainian universities. It will also promote study-in-Canada programs for Ukrainian students.

And later today, I will be signing a memorandum of understanding on behalf of the Canadian education community, which wants to reach out to Ukraine.

Energy and education are just two examples; there are many others. Certainly, companies such as Northland Power and Lateral Vector Resources have realized the benefits of perseverance in this market. And I am confident that many of you will be able to carve your own niche after first doing your homework.

There is an old Ukrainian proverb that says, “With patience, it is possible to dig a well with a needle.” To many of you, it may seem that that is an apt description of trying to do business here!

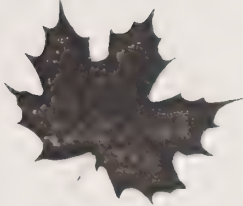
But you have persevered because you know the potential that lies buried here and you are prepared to do the tough slogging to see it realized. This really is a ground-floor opportunity. I commend you on your foresight and commitment

In your efforts, you can count on your government’s support. And you can be sure that we are doing everything we can to replace those “needles” with backhoes so that you can roll up your sleeves and really get to work.

With hard work and perseverance I am confident that you will succeed.



Thank you.



International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

---

99/7

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

A STATEMENT BY THE  
HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS  
STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

"CANADA AND THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION:  
OPENING OPPORTUNITIES TO THE WORLD"

OTTAWA, Canada  
February 9, 1999  
(9:00 a.m. EST)

This document is also available on the Department's Internet site:  
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada





Let me begin, Mr. Chairman, by thanking you and the members of this Committee for inviting me to join you today. I always welcome these opportunities to appear before you, both as a means of sharing information with you and as a forum for receiving input from you.

I have certainly valued the counsel you have provided me in the past and I look forward to maintaining a very open-door relationship with this committee in the future.

We live in exciting times. Around the world, trade barriers are falling down, opportunities are opening up and the possibilities for Canadians to create better lives for themselves and for their children are greater than at any time in our history.

Technology is collapsing distances, and there is an ever-smaller distinction between international and domestic markets. We are able both to buy from and sell into markets that had previously been closed to us.

For a trading nation such as ours, these developments are to be welcomed. They provide Canadians with rewards for their labour, markets for their products and hope for their futures.

But we would be less than candid if we did not acknowledge that many people are uneasy about the pace and the path of change. What some see as the successes of liberalized trade represent for others a march down a road they don't fully understand.

While our vocabularies have been expanded by words like "globalization," our understanding of these concepts has not always kept pace.

That is why I am so pleased that this Committee will soon be embarking on cross-country hearings on international trade and the World Trade Organization (WTO). This will give Canadians, from every walk of life and from every part of our country, the opportunity to air their concerns, explain their positions and offer their views on what Canada's trade objectives should be on the international stage.

These Parliamentary hearings are both timely and historic. Timely because in December of this year, WTO ministers will meet in Seattle to embark on a new series of trade negotiations, and we believe that Canada must be at the table. Historic because your consultations will help to determine a national consensus on what Canada's trade priorities should be — now and for the future.

It is our firm belief that ongoing, broad-based consultations with the provinces, the business sector and the public at large are essential for Canada to identify its negotiating positions and objectives.

These hearings are also important for the role they can play in educating Canadians both about the opportunities that await us and about the challenges that confront us. And they will be a chance to discuss openly the values that should inform our policies and direct our positions.

And so I welcome these hearings and look forward to receiving this Committee's report at the end of the process.

As we look ahead to a new set of negotiations at the WTO, let me outline six areas that will be crucial in framing the debate:

- assessing where we have come from;
- recognizing the new dynamic that all trade is now local;
- promoting Canadian values abroad;
- addressing the need for further negotiations;
- deciding how these negotiations should proceed and what they should cover; and, finally,
- opening up the process.

### **Where We Are Coming From**

In order to understand the journey before us, it is necessary to understand the road that the international community has already travelled.

The Uruguay Round of negotiations, which was completed some five years ago, greatly strengthened the international trading system by expanding the rules of the game and by providing for mechanisms to resolve disputes that might arise.

Canada has benefited from those results.

First, we have benefited from liberalized trade because our economy is so dependent upon trade. In fact, we depend more upon trade for our prosperity than any other G-7 country.

The figures are well known to the members of this Committee but bear repeating:

- Forty percent of our GDP and one in three Canadian jobs depend upon our ability to sell our goods and services abroad.
- Between 1992 and 1996, our exports grew roughly four times faster than our GDP. Due in no small measure to this performance, the Canadian economy created more than 1 million new jobs — 450 000 last year alone. The connection between our trade figures and our employment figures could not be clearer.

- This is something that we need to stress. Trade is not an abstraction. It produces real jobs for real people and is not just happening on the international stage — it is happening locally, in our communities and in our neighbourhoods.

Behind the large numbers of so many billions in exports or trillions in trade are individual Canadians — men and women who are working, buying homes and building a better life for themselves and for their children.

- There has also been a significant shift in the nature of our trade. Since 1992, machinery and equipment have become our top exports, overtaking commodities. Indeed, as a percentage of our exports, commodities have fallen from about 60 percent in 1980 to just 35 percent in 1997.
- This is a clear indication of the modernization of our economy and bodes well for future growth.
- And just as trade abroad has bolstered our economy, so too our openness to international investment has brought with it jobs and opportunities to Canadians here at home.
- Studies show, for example, that every \$1 billion in foreign investment creates or sustains some 45 000 jobs. And, at present, total foreign investment in Canada stands at an impressive \$188 billion.

As a result of earlier rounds of trade talks, we have opened our economy and enhanced our opportunities. And, as a country that depends so heavily upon trade and investment, we have benefited from more open markets.

At the same time, we have remained free to regulate in areas such as culture, health care, education, social programs, the environment, labour standards, and programs for Aboriginals, minorities and the management of our natural resources.

Second, we have benefited from liberalized trade because it brought rules to what had been an international free-for-all, with the biggest and richest nations usually coming out on top.

As a mid-sized economy in the world, Canada no longer has to worry about an environment where “might equals right” or where the law of the jungle prevails.

Fair and predictable rules mean Canadian products should not be excluded from foreign markets by discriminatory standards. Rules mean Canadian companies have the same opportunity to win contracts from foreign governments as their competitors. Rules mean that subsidies and other incentives do not distort trade or investment decisions.



Rules also mean that Canadian intellectual property, including designs, are protected against theft or piracy. This is a crucial protection in a world where trade in services, as well as goods, is becoming increasingly knowledge-based.

Not only have these rules allowed us to gain access to key markets around the world, but they have also provided the framework for very successful regional agreements, such as the NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement], which has created thousands of jobs for Canadians.

The fact is that by making trade subject to clear rules — rules that apply to all, regardless of size or economic might — we have levelled the playing field. And given this fair chance, Canadians have demonstrated themselves able to compete — and win — against anyone in the world.

So much so, in fact, that *Time* magazine has called Canada an “exporting superhero,” and our annual trade figures look like the graphs for one of those outperforming mutual funds.

The bottom line is that trade is something that Canadians are extraordinarily good at, and the worldwide trend toward freer trade plays directly to our strengths.

Our strategy, therefore, must continue to be to push for access to international markets and to encourage others to open their economies, so that they too can enjoy the benefits that freer trade provides. At the same time, we need to continue to do everything we can domestically to ensure that our companies can take advantage of the opportunities that are unfolding.

That's why our Government has made a deliberate effort to encourage companies — especially small and medium-sized companies — to begin exporting. Indeed, I have created a special unit within my department aimed specifically at small and medium-sized enterprises.

We have also targeted special programs at women, youth and Aboriginal entrepreneurs in order to ensure that the benefits of trade are broadly shared.

The Prime Minister's Team Canada trade missions are perhaps the best known of our efforts to open doors and break down barriers to trade. But they are by no means the only ones.

The Government has also invested some \$100 million over the past three years in programs that promote trade and investment. We have created Team Canada Inc, which brings together all of the various federal programs and services under one roof, so that companies can quickly get access to the information they need to begin exporting.

Through initiatives like the Program for Export Market Development (PEMD) and the recently announced PEMD-I, which focusses on investment, we have helped entrepreneurs enter export markets and involved the municipalities in our partnership.

We have also established the WIN Exports database, which matches Canadian capabilities with opportunities abroad. And we have enhanced our Trade Commissioner Service, putting more officers in the field where they can serve Canadians best.

Abroad, we have worked hard to open doors so that our companies will have access to key markets. We have signed free trade agreements with Israel and Chile, and have expanded the free trade agreement with the United States to include Mexico.

And we are currently involved in negotiations to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), as well as pursuing a free trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

These regional negotiations complement and enhance the efforts we are making on the multilateral front, through the WTO.

These and a host of other efforts, both at home and abroad, have been undertaken with one single objective: to allow Canadians to participate in the exciting opportunities that trade liberalization is bringing.

But while the Uruguay Round was significant and resulted in real benefits for Canada, it did not address every issue or solve every problem. Many stones remain unturned, and much work remains to be done. As we undertake this new work, it is important to carry the lessons we have learned into the next round.

## **A New Dynamic**

There can be no doubt that in recent years the trade landscape has changed — and changed dramatically. Let me suggest two characteristics of this new dynamic.

First, just as all politics is local, so too all trade is local. Second, and related, foreign trade is now very much a part of the domestic agenda.

Let me expand on each of these.

I spoke earlier of both the tremendous opportunities that are opening up for Canadians and of the anxiety some Canadians feel about further liberalization of trade and investment.

Part of this apparent disconnect between the benefits that abound and the perceptions that exist is due to the singular failure on the part of government, business and international institutions to explain the benefits of balanced freer trade and to encourage participation in it.

Our task is to show the immediacy of international trade — to demonstrate its relevance to our daily lives and to prove that, at the end of the day, all trade is local.

Canadians don't need to understand the arcane language of trade policy to be informed about what it can mean to their businesses. Nor do they need to follow every twist and turn in negotiations over some esoteric point of trade policy.

But they do need to understand that international trade and investment is not something that happens "out there," to "other people." It is what happens when an automobile is assembled in Windsor or Cambridge, using steel produced in Hamilton, aluminum from Quebec, zinc from British Columbia, plastics from Ontario and electronics or computer components from across the country.

It is what happens when a Canadian university markets its programs abroad and recruits students from around the world. It is what happens when a local high-tech company sees a niche for its product, sells it abroad and expands its operations at home.

And so, while it is true that the game has changed, it is a bigger and potentially more lucrative game. And all of us have a responsibility both to grasp its potential and to explain its significance.

But let me say that this responsibility is not just that of government. The private sector, too, must become informed, involved and engaged. Business needs to explain what the international trading system means to its bottom line and to our way of life. It needs to make it its business to know what's going on in Brussels as well as what's going on in Ottawa.

Another way we can begin to meet public concerns is through policies and programs that encourage business participation in the global economy. There is nothing that demystifies international trade more than winning that first contract in a foreign land.

Just ask the thousands of Canadian businesses that have done their homework, put in the effort, raised their sights to new frontiers and then gone out and made it happen.

So that's the first thing we have to understand: that all trade is local and brings benefits right to our front doors and to our main streets.



Second, foreign trade is now an integral part of our domestic agenda. Let me explain what I mean by that.

One of the fundamental changes that has occurred in recent years is the increasing overlap between international developments and domestic policy.

Earlier trade negotiations were primarily focussed on so-called "border issues" and addressed things like customs procedures and tariffs — impediments that delayed or blocked access at the border. These negotiations were very successful, and many tariffs have now been eliminated or significantly reduced.

Today, the greatest impediment for business is non-tariff barriers — issues such as standards, licensing and approval procedures, product and professional certifications, and, more broadly, the regulatory framework.

All of these areas have traditionally been the purview of individual states. So, too, have environmental, social and cultural policies, as well as competition and investment policies.

Now, these are trade issues, discussed in trade negotiations and often the subject of trade agreements. And as a greater range of areas that were traditionally domestic in scope become trade issues, the number of players involved with trade issues must also expand.

The fact is that trade is no longer a matter for trade ministers alone, but for many other departments as well. Nor is it simply a matter for the federal government. As provincial and even municipal areas of jurisdiction become affected, they too must be engaged and consulted.

Just next week, for example, I will be hosting my provincial counterparts to address these sorts of issues.

The fact is that our participation in the world economy — through our trade agenda — is now an integral part of our domestic political agenda of jobs, growth, safety, security and social programs.

And throughout this whole process, Canadians have the right to be heard.

That is why last Saturday, our Government posted a notice in the *Canada Gazette* — and on our Web site — inviting all Canadians to express their views on this challenging new trade agenda.

I might add that our desire to involve the wider public is not just something that we practice at home. In the negotiations on the FTAA, for example, we pushed for —

and obtained — a special working group on civil society that will hear views from all segments of our societies.

With more and more elements of our domestic agenda now having a trade dimension to them, we simply must engage our citizens in our discussions.

The move away from so-called “border issues” has had an international impact as well as a domestic one. With the emphasis increasingly on non-tariff barriers and on transparency, the international trade agenda has become as much about strengthening markets as about opening them.

And so the focus has shifted to issues like creating a stable, predictable environment, good governance and discouraging corruption.

The real challenge in trade policy, therefore, is not protectionism versus liberalization — closing or opening our borders — but to recognize our interconnectedness and learn to manage our national differences.

### **Promoting Canadian Values Abroad**

As we embark on a new round of negotiations, it is more important than ever that we go in with our eyes open, our priorities identified and our principles clearly articulated.

And it is very important that Canadian values are reflected in the positions we propose.

It has always been this Government’s view that trade allows us to export not only our goods, but also our values; that the global economy must be a humane place where good government, democracy and the rule of law ensure that the benefits of trade liberalization are shared among all levels of society. We have never believed that it is necessary to sell our souls in order to sell our goods.

And just as we have a responsibility to protect individual rights and maximize opportunity within our own society, we also believe that similar obligations flow with respect to the global community we are creating through freer trade.

Indeed, I would go so far as to say that if we simply pursue markets without concern for the citizens within those markets — if we do not temper the pursuit of progress with the commands of compassion — then we are destined to fail. More, we deserve to fail.

And if we do not temper our push for profit with due consideration for the environment, we will be like the person who constructs a new foundation for a house

by borrowing material from the roof: we will simply have achieved today's objectives at the expense of tomorrow's opportunities.

So today, more than ever, debates over trade must address issues of fairness and justice and the equitable sharing of prosperity.

### **Do We Need Further Negotiations?**

Now, with all of the progress we have made, it may be tempting to pause, to consolidate, to take a breather. But while it would be tempting, it would also be a mistake.

Our efforts abroad have opened up exciting new markets for Canadian businesses and created new demand for their goods and services. We need fair and objective rules to preserve these hard-won gains. We cannot afford to be satisfied with the status quo — we must continue to grow and to expand the benefits of a rules-based trading system to other sectors and to other parts of the world.

The fact is we still have work to do. As I said earlier, the Uruguay Round left unfinished business that we need to complete.

Access, for example, remains an important issue. In today's global village, there are still neighbourhoods we cannot enter, streets we cannot travel, customers we cannot secure. We need to open those doors and make our village one that is fully accessible to all.

We need to encourage others to take the steps we have — to become open, outward-looking economies and to explain the benefits of doing so.

We also need to find ways to advance participation in the global economy by less-developed countries. To marginalize them now would not only deprive them of their greatest hope for future prosperity, but it would be also be to deny ourselves the future contribution they can make to the world's economy.

More negotiations are also necessary because, as recent international economic upheaval has shown, no nation can restore growth solely through its own domestic market. Trade holds the potential to help solve these problems, and so we need to extend its reach.

And if we are to make the trading system truly universal, we must include sooner rather than later in the WTO such major economies as China, Chinese Taipei, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Ukraine and make them partners in future negotiations.



Finally, we have to ensure that the rules of trade themselves keep pace with the changes taking place in business practices, technology and social systems. We cannot proceed into the next millennium with rules that don't reflect the new realities.

And so there is a need for further trade negotiations.

### **How Should We Proceed and What Should These Negotiations Cover?**

The immediate issue before us is how we should proceed and what should these negotiations should cover.

In terms of the form these talks should take, Canada's position is that flexibility should be our watchword. As you know, some would like to see a comprehensive new round, while others favour tackling issues on a sector-by-sector basis.

Our view is that both options carry their own difficulties.

A major new round, in trying to encompass so many divergent issues and interests, can become unwieldy and exhausting. And its dynamic of all or nothing means no progress for several years until every last issue has been resolved.

The sector-by-sector approach, on the other hand, leaves itself open to countries simply "cherry picking" those sectors that work to their advantage. Such a mercenary approach does not indicate great confidence in the WTO or in its ability to create widespread agreement.

That is why, for over a year, we have proposed a middle ground. We have suggested broad-based discussions that would deal with clusters of issues and sectors in a way that is manageable, digestible and timely, and has something for everyone.

This would mean setting a timetable to implement results in clusters as they are achieved, thus detaching them from other areas where progress could be slower or more difficult to obtain.

This would produce an "early harvest" of agreements and provide momentum at a crucial time.

At the end of the day, however, a single undertaking, whereby all countries accept playing by all of the new rules, must still be our ultimate goal.

I am pleased to say that this approach appears to be carrying the day, with both the United States and the European Union also seeking the implementation of concrete, early results as they are achieved.

We must also take steps, in addressing the form of these negotiations, to ensure that the particular needs of developing nations are taken into consideration and that these talks produce benefits for developing and developed nations alike.

In terms of the content of the negotiations, our view is that the talks should be broadly based, both to attract support and to satisfy a wide range of interests.

Ideally, this means that negotiations will extend beyond the mandated areas of agriculture and services. Without pre-empting your consultations or prejudging their outcome in any way, let me suggest the following areas that governments might consider:

- further reductions to tariffs on industrial goods, particularly those that prevent our products from competing in foreign markets, and the possible elimination of so-called nuisance tariffs — those below 2 percent;
- addressing non-tariff barriers that impose unnecessary bureaucratic costs on our exporters, including issues dealing with standards, customs valuations and rules of origin;
- curbing the abuse by foreign competitors of antidumping, countervailing duties and safeguard actions;
- extending the coverage of rules on services trade, with a particular emphasis on professional services;
- bringing agricultural trade more fully under the rules, including eliminating all export subsidies;
- expanding trade rules to respond to modern ways of doing business internationally in such areas as intellectual property, electronic commerce, transparency in government procurement, and investment and competition policy;
- exploring ways to ensure that trade rules fully take into account and fully respect sound cultural, environmental and labour policies; and, finally,
- ensuring that governments retain the ability to regulate for reasons of public health, consumer safety, social policy or other legitimate public interests.

We are mindful, of course, that we will not win every battle or obtain every concession. In a process involving more than 130 countries, everyone must be prepared to compromise. But we are confident that, at the end of the day, Canadian interests will be significantly advanced and that we will be in an even better position than we are at the moment.

### **Opening up the Process**

Finally, I have often said that the process of negotiating trade agreements is as important as the substance of those talks. And so we need to throw open the windows of the WTO process — and I made this very point at the Ministerial Meeting

marking the 50th anniversary of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade last May.

Secrecy serves no one and risks alienating everyone.

Indeed, in order to build and maintain public support and understanding for international trade, I believe policy makers need to do three things, both internationally and at home:

- First, we need to make the whole process more transparent. Canadians want their governments, and international institutions, to be more open and accountable. As we construct the framework for the global economy, we must ensure that Canadians' voices are heard.
- Second, we need to be more responsive. When Canadians express their concerns — whether they be over labour standards, human rights or a perceived loss of sovereignty — we cannot dismiss them as overreactions of the uninformed. We need to address the concerns head on and present Canadians with the facts.
- Third, and related to the other points, we need to be more inclusive. We cannot continue to carry on discussions about trade and globalization over the heads of the people. The changes we introduce are felt by individuals. And, if history teaches us anything, it is the importance of building a strong consensus on issues that affect our people so directly.

We also have to remember that the benefits of trade and investment are often not immediately obvious, that they are incremental, usually poorly publicized and poorly explained. On the other hand, the costs of adjustment are often dramatic, felt at the local level and publicized in headlines.

So while freer trade may be an idea whose time has come, it is not an idea whose success is assured. We need to stop assuming that everyone sees or agrees with the wisdom of our actions. We need to bring people in, not shut people out.

One of the ways to do that is to consult and to communicate better with Canadians. The Standing Committee on Agriculture has already embarked on hearings to examine vital agriculture issues in the context of the upcoming WTO talks. And that's why I am so glad that this Committee favourably considered my suggestion to hold these public hearings on overarching international trade and investment issues.

That is why, in addition to my ongoing consultations with the provinces, business community and civil society at large, I also intend to use my department's Web site to post information on the issues being negotiated, including the papers that Canada tables at the WTO, and to seek Canadians' input on the progress we are making.



## Conclusion

Canada stands today as a trading powerhouse at a time when the world is embracing freer trade as never before. We are in the right place at the right time, and our future has never been brighter.

But there is nothing automatic or preordained about our success. We need to be at the table early, so that we can help to shape the discussions as we have done so successfully in the past.

We need to continue to work hard in an increasingly competitive world. We need to protect our interests even as we project our values. And we need to ensure that all Canadians have a say in the future we are building.

We want to make Canada, already a trading nation, into a country of traders. This means expanding the number of companies doing business abroad. It means developing even more of a trading culture, which sees the whole world as its marketplace.

By experiencing first-hand the benefits of trading abroad, many of the concerns about liberalization are put into perspective. And far from seeing trade liberalization as something to be feared, Canadians have come to see it as something to be embraced.

If we move forward with a clear understanding of the connection between international trade and domestic prosperity; if we strive to promote Canadian values in our international relationships; if we demonstrate that all trade is ultimately local; if we can make international trade more transparent, responsive and inclusive; if we continue to knock down barriers through trade agreements and negotiations, while encouraging our companies to seek out new opportunities abroad — if we can do all of these things — then we will have positioned ourselves to compete and win in the new economy.

And we will have secured a brighter future for our children and our children's children.

I look forward to working with the members of this Committee as we build that future together.

Thank you.





# Statement



CANADA ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL 1999 – 2000

<http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca/ONU2000UN>

99/8

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
"THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS  
IN ARMED CONFLICT"

UNITED NATIONS, New York  
February 12, 1999





I would like to add my words of appreciation to you, Mr. Sommaruga, Ms. Bellamy and Mr. Otunnu for your presentations to the Council today. Your presence is an important milestone in the Council's deliberations. You have conveyed with honesty and clarity the precarious plight and the enormity of the problems faced by ordinary civilians trapped in the grip of armed conflict.

The victimization of civilians in war is as old as time, but never more so than in our century. This has never been acceptable. What is more recent and disturbing, what provides the global community with a compelling reason for engagement today, is the increasing "civilianization" of conflict. More than ever, non-combatants — especially the most vulnerable — are the principal targets, the instruments and overwhelmingly, the victims of modern armed conflict. The number of casualties from armed conflict has almost doubled since the 1980s to about one million a year; and of those, 80 percent are civilians.

Our discussion leaves no doubt about the considerable threats faced by civilians, nor their global dimension. We have all too many examples. The horrific brutality in Sierra Leone. Ethnic cleansing and slaughter of non-combatants in the Balkans. Genocide and the mass movements of refugees and displaced persons in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The emergence of modern-day warlords in failed states, who take advantage of, brutalize and terrorize local residents — aided and abetted by outside arms dealers and private groups who benefit from the marketplace of conflict.

It is a fact of our time that the threats to human security — the risks that individuals, communities, people face in their daily lives — outweigh the risks to security occasioned by conflicts across borders, which have been the more traditional concern of the Council. The promotion of human security is the bedrock upon which all other objectives of the UN Charter must rest — from economic and social development, to human rights and freedom, to the free flow of commerce. The dark side of globalization is the attack upon the basic integrity of people: they fear becoming innocent victims of marauding child soldiers set loose by political leaders, or of the drug warlords who exploit human misery, or of combatants who sow landmines without discrimination.

The Security Council has a vital role to play in confronting these threats. There should be no mistake. Promoting the protection of civilians in armed conflict is no sideshow to the Council's mandate for ensuring international peace and security. On the contrary, it is central to it. The ultimate aim of the Council's work is to safeguard the security of the world's people, not just the states in which they live. Clearly, faced with the disproportionate toll that modern conflict takes on civilians, the protection of individuals should be a primary consideration in the Council's activities.

The Council does not have to do it all; other parts of the UN and the wider international community also have their responsibilities. However, in the absence of resolute and effective Council leadership, civilians in situations of armed conflict are left in a security void. This vacuum will be and in some cases already is being filled

by others — combatants, including mercenaries, who act with little restraint and scant regard for even the most basic humanitarian standards.

Active Council engagement would serve to reverse this situation. It would also reinforce the legitimacy of states. It is a state's prerogative and obligation to ensure the protection of all of its citizens, especially in times of armed conflict. This is a public good, but one that governments do not or cannot always provide. Sometimes this is a consequence of weakened state structures or of failed states. In these cases, Council action to defend civilians in armed conflict will also diminish the threats to states. The reluctance to involve the Council — justified by some by the need to uphold state sovereignty — only serves, ironically, to undermine this very principle.

The Council's responsibility to protect civilians in armed conflict is therefore compelling, from a human security perspective, in terms of fulfilling the Council's own mandate and in the interest of enhancing state sovereignty.

Our discussion today is a welcome acknowledgment of the Council's role. Indeed, this meeting builds on recent initiatives by current and previous Council members, as well as on existing Council declarations and action.

In its deliberations, the Council has condemned the targeting of children in armed conflict. It has indicated a willingness to consider how to assist with the provision and protection of humanitarian assistance and humanitarian workers, including the security problems in refugee camps. It has recognized the need for peacekeeping operations to take better account of the needs of civilians. It has considered the devastating impact of arms transfers in areas of armed conflict. Last month, the Council considered the humanitarian impact of conflict. Awareness precedes action; the Council is certainly more sensitive than ever to the many dimensions of the problem.

In its practice, the Security Council decisions have begun to reflect this reality. The Council exhorts both state and non-state actors involved in armed conflict to comply with the relevant provisions of international human rights and humanitarian law relating to the protection of civilians. Peace support operations, as appropriate, include provisions relating to the security of UN and humanitarian personnel; they also include human rights monitors, and take special consideration of the situation of civilians. The Council's establishment of ad hoc tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda were concrete measures against those who violate international humanitarian law.

The Council's words and deeds to date are a promising start. However, the march of time is relentless. Civilians continue to be brutalized. Nothing suggests that we, the international community, can somehow wait this out, as our briefing today has made



urgently clear. This makes the decline in the Council's active presence in the world's conflict areas all the more disturbing. The world needs more, not less, vigorous, comprehensive and sustained action by the Council.

In Canada's view, the challenges facing the Council are fourfold:

First is preventing conflict. Averting the outbreak of armed hostilities is the optimal means to avoid needless destruction and suffering — in particular, the victimization of civilians. There is nothing new in this observation. Yet the United Nations record is not all it might be, in taking pre-emptive steps, or building strong human rights institutions, or ensuring early warning of impending crisis, or offering concerted support for peace processes, or having the capacity to act quickly — for example, in the absence of the Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters. The Council needs to reassert its leadership in this area.

The second challenge is insuring respect for international humanitarian and human rights law. We have developed a considerable body of international law and standards regulating the conduct of belligerents and the protection of civilians — both local residents and international personnel — in conflict situations. In this regard, the situation of children and refugees merits special attention. And we are developing new standards for adapting to the changing nature of conflict, for example, with regard to the treatment of internally displaced persons. Too frequently, however, these standards are flagrantly violated or ignored by the belligerents — and are too often left unanswered.

The third challenge facing the Council is supporting the pursuit of those who violate humanitarian norms and standards. The impunity of individuals who commit gross violations of humanitarian law during armed conflict is a widely acknowledged problem. The tribunals established for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda were a significant step forward. Backing is needed for more systematic prosecution of alleged war criminals — for example, through support to make the International Criminal Court operational sooner rather than later.

The fourth challenge is taking aim at the purveyors and instruments of war. Those who are accessories to these crimes and violations — the merchants of conflict — who illicitly traffic in the means of war, must likewise not be left unaccountable. Conflict areas are often awash with arms, especially military small arms and light weapons. When these fall into the wrong hands, their misuse compounds the misery of civilians, who are overwhelmingly their victims. Urgent attention must be given to the flow and misuse of weapons that terrorize, maim and kill.

These are complicated challenges with no easy solutions. Nevertheless, we believe that the Council has the capacity to respond — provided its members have the political will to act.

The Council could ensure that the Secretary-General highlights the situation of civilians, especially children, in relevant reports to the Council. The when, why and how of Council-mandated peace missions and good-offices efforts might be re-examined thoroughly. This would enable the Council to act rapidly when civilians are threatened, and to propose ways of giving peacekeepers the authority, guidance and resources they need to defend civilians. Other innovative practices merit further exploration, such as how Council missions could assist in minimizing the misuse of mass media to target civilians, as suggested by Under-Secretary de Mello last month. The Council might also consider how to better target, design and enforce sanctions regimes to maximize their impact on belligerents, to dry up the resources for waging war and to constrain those who profit from it — while minimizing their effect on non-combatants.

These are only a few suggestions. Other ideas have been presented and discussed today, and in recent briefings and debates by the Council. To help in moving forward, the Council needs a comprehensive assessment that brings together the numerous challenges we face with an inventory of possible responses. For this reason, Canada strongly welcomes the statement that the Council will adopt today, asking the Secretary-General to submit a report later this year containing practical recommendations for further action to protect civilians in armed conflict.

The plight of civilians in armed conflict is urgent, growing and global in the threat it poses to human security. It goes to the core of the Council's mandate, and deserves continued attention. The Council has a responsibility to act vigorously and resolutely. To do otherwise risks diminishing the Council's standing, and opens the way to a more disorderly and far less secure world. We look forward to the Secretary-General's report, and to working with other Council members to address this issue, starting now.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/9

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE CONFERENCE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ON  
"THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN ARMED CONFLICT"

NEW YORK, New York  
February 12, 1999  
(5:30 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I have just come from the United Nations Security Council where, at Canada's request, a meeting was convened today focussing on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. We are committed to bringing the human dimension of peace and security to the forefront of Council concerns, and to making human security a central impetus for Council action.

The condition of the world's children, particularly in armed conflict, is a special concern for Canada and for me personally. I was proud to have been involved in the drafting of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 10 years ago this year. Realizing the ideals of that document has been an important objective for me in the intervening years.

To that end, I am also reminded of a common belief among the Cree nation, as related to me by the Opaskwayak elders, that a child is a gift or loan from the Great Spirit. We are given the responsibility of raising and caring for that child. Since children are a gift from the Great Spirit, they are sacred and must be treated with respect and dignity.

Unfortunately, as a global community, we are falling well short of keeping that trust. This is especially true in situations of armed conflict. The saddest reality about war at the end of this century is that civilians are now, overwhelmingly, the main victims and targets. The number of casualties from armed conflict has almost doubled from the 1980s to about one million a year; and of those, 80 percent are civilians. And you are all only too familiar with the particularly appalling — and completely unacceptable — toll being borne by the world's children. This was reinforced with devastating clarity last month during my visit to Africa.

This conference could not be more timely or appropriate. This should be a defining issue for all of us. As practitioners with on-the-ground experience, your perspectives are indispensable in setting out the way forward. Today, I would like to situate Canada's approach to the subject within the context of our human security agenda, provide our assessment of the challenges we face, and outline the elements of Canada's strategy to protect and improve the condition of war-affected children.

## **Human Security**

Over the past decade, the global landscape has shifted from the verities of our Cold War past to new, uncharted paths to the future. Our notion of global security — how we define it, how we obtain it and how we maintain it — has changed considerably. Despite the hurly-burly of events during the last 10 years, a few certainties have emerged to give us our bearings.

Most important, as I have just noted, civilians are increasingly the main victims and targets of violent conflicts. This is partly the result of a change in the complexion of war. Most conflicts now occur inside rather than between states. In the case of failed states, modern-day warlords and vigilantes have emerged — aided and abetted by

outside arms dealers and others who benefit from the marketplace of conflict. These individuals take advantage of, brutalize and terrorize civilians. The result has been human tragedies of devastating proportions: exploitation of civilians, massive refugee flows and the grossest violations of humanitarian law, including genocide.

The nature of threats to global security is evolving. Many are multi-faceted and have a transnational dimension. Illicit drugs, terrorism, environmental despoliation, human rights abuses and weapons proliferation pose challenges that respect no borders and cut across many disciplines. They cannot be solved unilaterally. They do, however, have a direct impact on our everyday lives.

Globalization has irreversibly linked our destinies. The undeniable truth of our lives today is that they are more connected than ever. We live in the age of the World Wide Web; far-off concerns, isolated from our own lives, are a thing of the past. And while globalization presents opportunities, it also has a darker side. This can expose all of us to economic and social insecurity.

The common denominator of these new realities is their human dimension. Our changing world has increasingly put the individual, and the security of the individual, at the centre of global affairs. As a result, the safety and well-being of the individual — that is, human security — has become a new measure of global security.

Humanitarian objectives — protection from abuse, reducing risks of physical endangerment, improving the quality of life, and creating the tools to guarantee these goals — should provide, and indeed are providing, a new impetus for concerted global action.

It is within this context that Canada has been reshaping and refocussing our own foreign policy priorities. We are increasingly occupied with issues that strike directly home to the individual. This human security-centred approach is expressed in three main ways:

- First are the initiatives we undertake to focus global attention and action on challenges that directly threaten the security of individuals. Examples are the campaign to ban anti-personnel mines, or efforts to curtail the abuse and proliferation of military small arms and light weapons.
- Second are focussed activities. These include peacebuilding via the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative; the advancement of humanitarian standards — the driving force behind our efforts to create the International Criminal Court; and adapting international and regional institutions to integrate human security concerns, such as at the UN Security Council.



- Third is the use of innovative partnerships with like-minded countries and civil society, and new techniques such as soft power principles. These must be balanced with a willingness to use robust action when and where necessary in the pursuit of humanitarian objectives — as in Kosovo, for example.

### **Protecting Children Affected by Armed Conflict**

The welfare of the world's children merits special priority in Canada's human security agenda. In the new global environment, it is the most vulnerable — but especially children — whose security is most at risk, who pay the highest price and who consequently demand close attention.

Nowhere is this more true than in situations of armed conflict. The record of the past decade is grim: close to 2 million children killed; more than 4 million children disabled; over 1 million children orphaned; over 300 000 girls and boys serving in armies and rebel groups as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies, labourers and sex slaves; and over 10 million children psychologically scarred by the trauma of abduction, detention, sexual assault and witnessing the brutal murder of family members.

Graça Machel's ground-breaking report three years ago on the impact of armed conflict on children drew global attention to their desperate plight and sounded the clarion call for global action. Using the tools of our human security agenda, Canada has been pursuing activities on several fronts:

#### *Increasing knowledge and the political will to act*

Action starts with awareness. The appointment of Olara Otunnu as the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General [SRSG] for Children and Armed Conflict was an important step in this direction. Mr. Otunnu has made good progress in focussing international attention on the condition of children victimized by armed conflict, and in mobilizing international action to ensure their rights, protection and welfare.

The Special Representative's efforts are vital to ensuring a continuing high profile for the issue, and to catalyzing action. His advocacy must be sustained and reinforced. To do this, his office needs resources and political support. To that end, I am pleased to announce that Canada will be providing \$400 000 to the Trust Fund established to support the SRSG's office.

As a result of enhanced understanding, we are seeing concerns and concrete programming relating specifically to war-affected children reflected throughout the UN system. This is welcome news. Preparations will soon begin for the UN Special

Session on Children in 2001. Through this process and elsewhere at the UN, Canada will continue to consolidate and build on the progress we have made.

Efforts at the global level need to be complemented at the regional and bilateral level, as well as among our own publics. Canada belongs to a number of regional organizations. We are seeking to ensure that the plight of war-affected children is addressed at these forums. For example, children in the regions covered by the OAS [Organization of American States] and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] have suffered because of armed conflict. We are considering the best way to mobilize these organizations to help. In addition, the protection of children in armed conflict is a central concern in the partnership developed by Canada and Norway, in co-operation with a number of other like-minded countries, to address human security concerns.

As the campaign to ban anti-personnel mines made clear, the contribution of civil society is also vital. A strong partnership between governments and civil society can make an enormous difference. In Canada, civil society has been playing a very important and active role in dealing with war-affected children. Last autumn, we created a joint Committee on War-Affected Children, bringing together NGOs [non-governmental organizations] and the Government of Canada, and chaired by Canadian Senator Landon Pearson. By sharing experiences and resources, we are working to chart a common strategy for the future.

### *Strengthening international norms*

People and governments need to care before they act. That is why awareness is so vital. But to be effective, we all need to be held accountable for our actions. To that end, Canada is working both to improve international legal instruments and to ensure compliance with existing humanitarian standards and norms that protect the rights of children.

One of the most notorious practices in conflicts is the recruitment of child soldiers. It is a barbarism that defies all standards of moral behaviour. We have been vividly reminded of this during the fighting in Sierra Leone. Outlawing this appalling activity has been a long-standing objective for many of us. To that end, Canada strongly supports the work under way in Geneva to develop an Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which would raise the age of recruitment and participation in hostilities.

In support of this goal — and, again, in partnership with civil society — Canada was the first government to provide resources to the international NGO Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. The Coalition is working on a region-by-region basis to raise awareness about the issue of child soldiers, and to endorse the strongest standard in negotiations of the Optional Protocol.



Most of us could also take further steps at home. In Canada, we are in the process of examining current legislation on the recruitment of youths under the age of 18 into our armed forces. Most recently, we codified our practice of not sending anyone under the age of 18 to hostilities. Many countries are studying how to align their laws with what we expect will be the terms of the Optional Protocol. Therefore, Canada and Norway are inviting a small number of governments to a workshop later this year, in Ottawa. This meeting will allow for an exchange on the common challenges we face in changing our respective laws while sharing draft legislative amendments.

Raising the international bar against the exploitation of children in conflict is important. We also need to redouble efforts to ensure the respect of existing humanitarian norms in conflict situations. Internationally accepted standards already exist for a number of practices, including the targeting of children, child abduction, sexual exploitation, access to humanitarian assistance, respect for sanctuaries, and ending impunity. Countries need to be actively encouraged to ratify and then adhere to relevant international agreements.

#### *Integrating the protection of children in peacemaking and peace support operations*

As the "civilianization" of conflict intensifies, the need to consider the interests and protection of civilians in peace operations becomes more urgent. Today, at Canada's request, the UN Security Council examined the issue of the protection of civilians in armed conflict. The aim is for the Council to reflect these concerns better and more actively in its deliberations, and to include them more systematically in its decisions.

By dealing better with the situation of civilians in conflict, the Council will, in fact, be dealing with the situation of children. However, I underlined the importance of addressing the specific challenges relating to children. The case for doing so is compelling.

Peacekeepers are increasingly confronted by child soldiers in their work. Canada is exploring ways of addressing this new reality. Pre-deployment military training might include courses on child rights and on how to deal with war-affected children during peace support operations. Military personnel might work with NGOs to assist war affected children. I am pleased to announce that Canada, in partnership with Norway, is developing a training module which could be used to enhance peacekeepers' awareness, knowledge and expertise in dealing with children in conflict zones.

Furthermore, Canada strongly supports the inclusion of child protection specialists in UN peace-support operations. As UN peace operations become more multi-faceted with larger civilian components (civilian police, humanitarian workers, human rights monitors), these specialists can make the difference for children.



To this end, I would like to announce that Canada is also examining ways to help strengthen capacity at the international, regional and local levels to ensure that children's rights are a central consideration during every stage of conflict. These might include the deployment of rapid-response mediation teams to advocate on behalf of children in conflict zones, or the inclusion of children's rights in post-conflict peace agreements. Such teams might be able to help ensure that the rights of children are respected in the critical early stages of implementing peace agreements — for example, in the process of disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating child soldiers. We are currently developing this concept, and will consult with others on the most effective and appropriate way to move it forward.

*Encouraging humanitarian and development programming aimed at war-affected children*

In areas of active or potential conflict, development assistance can promote peacebuilding. In emergency situations, humanitarian assistance helps alleviate immediate suffering. And in post-conflict societies, development programming contributes to rebuilding stable and equitable communities. In all cases, the specific needs of children should be — and, indeed, are being — reflected in how and where we put our development and humanitarian resources.

The Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA], through its humanitarian, multilateral and bilateral programming, has devoted significant resources to a wide range of programs specifically targeted to the needs of war-affected children. Programming has been undertaken or is under way to help child soldiers in Angola, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Uganda. In war-torn societies from Rwanda to Bosnia, development assistance is being aimed directly — through counselling, demobilization, reintegration, education and health — at helping children recover from the traumas of war.

In these situations, small can also be beautiful. Through Canada's Youth International Internship Program, we have placed interns in Bosnia with the International Children's Institute to work with children affected by the conflict in that country. Through Canada's Peacebuilding Initiative, and working with civil society, we have made relatively modest — but I believe highly effective — contributions to smaller local projects. For example, in Algeria, again working with Norway, we have helped local health care and social work professionals to assist children affected by the horrifying violence in that country. Using innovative techniques, our Cultural Initiatives for War-Affected Children Program, launched last July, is aimed at raising awareness about children in armed conflict by promoting cultural activities at the international level. One of those projects, "Mapping Our World," uses art therapy to help children from conflict areas work through the trauma of their experiences while using their images to sensitize others to their situation.

Co-ordinating assistance efforts, especially in war-torn zones, would go a long way toward making the best use of resources.

In conflict situations, many actors may be charged with responding to the needs of children. Special Representative Otunnu's role is to advocate directly on behalf of children; agencies such as UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees], UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] and the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] are crucial for ensuring that humanitarian assistance gets to war-affected children; and peacekeepers might be made responsible for gathering evidence or intelligence on the mistreatment and recruitment of children by the parties to a conflict, or might be charged with setting up the structures to disarm and demobilize child soldiers. In post-conflict conditions, rehabilitation and re-integration of war-affected children are critical for peacebuilding and democratic development.

In these cases, different and overlapping activities may be taking place at the same time. Without creating new structures, we believe that the Special Representative's office is uniquely placed to provide both the overview and guidance on how to co-ordinate resources more effectively.

#### *Promoting partnerships with civil society*

Coalitions between governments and civil society are part of the new way of doing business in our changed global environment. Active co-operation and consultation with civil society runs through Canada's approach to war-affected children. This is crucial, as NGOs carry out much of the work, especially on the ground. I referred to our own NGO-Government dialogue, which was established last year. I firmly believe that this partnership can be widened and reinforced. Canada and Norway will work in concert with the NGO community to bring together government and NGO agendas on this issue, with a view to convening an international conference in the future.

#### **Conclusion**

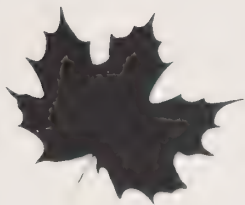
Promoting children's security is indispensable to promoting human security. Protecting children from the traumas of armed conflict is inescapably linked to our broader objective of building peaceful and stable societies. We cannot possibly hope to build a secure world without due regard to those who will inherit it.

I have outlined the elements of Canada's approach. Through a mixture of advocacy and action — and a strong commitment to co-operation with civil society — we are committed to, and indeed we can live up to, the sacred trust so eloquently described by the Opaskwayak elders.

Thank you.







International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

---

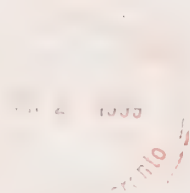
www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/10

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI,  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE,  
TO THE CANADA-SAUDI BUSINESS COUNCIL  
AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia  
February 22, 1999  
(12:50 p.m. EST)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



It's a real pleasure to be here in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

First of all, I want to congratulate the Government and the people of Saudi Arabia on your centenary. Your achievements since King Abdulaziz first launched the process of unification have been remarkable, and you are well positioned to meet the challenges of the next 100 years.

Canada and Saudi Arabia have a broad partnership of long standing. As allies in the Gulf War, co-workers in the struggle to bring peace and security to the Middle East and Gulf region, as well as partners in trade, we have built a solid foundation for further growth in our relations.

This is complemented by strong person-to-person links. There are 7000 Canadians working, teaching and providing training in Saudi hospitals, and 400 Saudi students currently studying in Canada.

Along with 35 Canadian business leaders, I have come to Saudi Arabia to bring a very simple message: namely, that we want to do more business with you. We want to build on the efforts of the Canadian companies that are already active in the Kingdom, and on the excellent work of the Joint Economic Commission.

The King Abdulaziz Historical Museum is a stunning example of what Canadians and Saudis can accomplish when they work together.

An architectural firm from Toronto – Moriyama and Teshima – designed the site and the Museum using Arabian themes and materials.

And a combination of the Royal Ontario Museum and Canadian communications and technology firms, together with their Saudi colleagues, designed the displays, which include the latest high-tech interactive tools for children.

This project came together under very tight time frames because Saudis and Canadians shared a common vision and worked together as a team – each ready to learn from the other. And it is a wonderful example of what we can accomplish together.

As we move our commercial relationship to the next level, let me suggest three areas where we might focus our efforts:

- first, increasing trade between us, especially in the area of high technology;
- second, training and education;
- and third, increasing Saudi investment in Canada.

Let me just touch on each of these.



In terms of enhancing trade between us, we begin from a very solid base: two-way trade now stands at over \$1 billion. And there is already a strong Canadian presence here: from our competitive natural resource-based products to the latest telecommunications switching devices and corporate jet aircraft.

But we want to do more. We want to establish and strengthen partnerships.

And the fact is that Canadians are discovering Saudi Arabia as never before. They are recognizing that the time has come to realize the vast untapped potential of our commercial relationship – that it is indeed time to extend our hands across the sands and the snow and embrace the possibilities that await us.

Take the increasing emphasis by Saudi Arabia on the private sector to create jobs and generate economic growth.

This country realizes that the days of high oil prices are gone, and that governments alone cannot provide economic opportunity to a rapidly growing population. More and more, it is the private sector that will need to step to the fore.

This is something that Canadians understand very well. We have just come through a period of adjustment, during which we liberalized trade and investment and privatized or deregulated such major industries as telecommunications, transportation and power.

We understand the imperative of improving competitiveness; of training our workers for the new knowledge-based economy. We understand the challenges, and we're meeting them. We stand ready to share our experience and expertise with Saudi Arabia as it confronts similar issues.

Let me give you one specific example: high technology.

I don't need to remind any of you that the global economy is changing; that prosperity in the future will be determined not so much by the resources a country possess, but by the resourcefulness its people demonstrate.

In such a world, knowledge is the new currency, and those countries that make the shift to a knowledge-based economy will leap-frog their neighbours and pass their competitors.

One of the key requirements of a knowledge-based economy is having the technology to manage the increasing amounts of information that are available. Saudi Arabia has understood this better than many countries, and boasts a sophisticated infrastructure in information technology.

As you move forward, and continue to upgrade that infrastructure to stay at the leading edge, Canada offers world-class products at very competitive prices. And in almost every area.

In fact, if the rest of the world suddenly lost all of its telecommunications capacity, Canadian companies could supply every single facet of a new telecommunications infrastructure – from equipment design and manufacture, through advanced networking technology, to the software and services needed to run and maintain it.

So take a careful look at what Canada has to offer. I think you'll be impressed.

Increasing trade between us, especially in the area of high technology, is one area of promise.

Education and training is another priority.

As I mentioned a moment ago, one of the key components of a modern economy is the training of our people. I know that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia understands the importance of this, with its tremendous emphasis on education.

And I am proud of the contribution that Canada is making to your efforts in this regard. More than 600 Saudi doctors have trained in Canada, and another 160 are training there now. And hundreds of Canadian doctors, nurses and administrators work here in Saudi Arabia.

We need to expand these ties. We need to attract more Saudi students to Canada, and to bring more of our technical expertise here to Saudi Arabia. When I meet the Saudi Minister of Higher Education tomorrow, I will extend an invitation for him – and others – to come to Canada to pursue those objectives.

The third, and final, area where I think we need to focus our efforts is in attracting more Saudi investment to Canada.

Just as we want to increase our presence here in Saudi Arabia, we also invite you to expand your presence in Canada.

Canada has much to offer as a destination for Saudi investment.

Now, I know that when many Saudis think about Canada they think of a country rich in natural resources, with an economy based mainly on forestry and mining. Well, we're certainly rich in natural resources, but our economy is no longer resource-based.

When you think of Canada today, you should be thinking high tech. You should be thinking a knowledge-based economy; fired by information technology, fuelled by the third-largest telecommunications industry in the world, and the fifth-largest aerospace industry.

Canada also stands as a gateway to a market of hundreds of millions – not only the United States and Mexico, but to the emerging Free Trade Area of the Americas and to the exciting markets of the Pacific Rim.

Canada also offers the best-educated workforce in the world, the most generous tax credits for research and development, and a critical mass in key technologies.

The Canadian economy is strong, with low inflation, low interest rates, strong growth and a balanced budget.

And for four straight years, the United Nations has ranked our quality of life as the very best in the world.

As a first step to attracting more Saudi investment, we should encourage more partnerships between Canadian and Saudi companies. I am confident that this trade mission will produce many exciting developments on this front.

Now, let me conclude.

We have come to Saudi Arabia with high hopes. We are committed to forming partnerships for the long term. And we want to build relationships – not just acquaintanceships.

There is an old Saudi proverb that says that it is wise to dig a well *before* you are thirsty. The new realities of globalization are sweeping toward us. Are we ready for them? Have we prepared our people and our economy to compete in this new environment – indeed, to benefit from it?

Let us dig our wells now. Let us build up the capacity to compete and the structures to succeed. And let us build a relationship between our two countries that will benefit us both in the years ahead.

Thank you.





International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfa.it-ma.eci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa.it-ma.eci.gc.ca)

99/11

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY  
THE CANADA-ARAB BUSINESS COUNCIL,  
THE ABU DHABI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND  
THE CANADIAN BUSINESS COUNCIL IN ABU DHABI

ABU DHABI, United Arab Emirates  
February 24, 1999  
(8:00 a.m. EST)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



Thank you to the Canada-Arab Business Council, the Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Canadian Business Council in Abu Dhabi for hosting this wonderful luncheon.

This is my first visit to Abu Dhabi, and I must say that I am very impressed by what I've seen. To hear reports about the dynamism and achievements of Abu Dhabi is one thing; to actually see them is another.

You can be justifiably proud of what you have accomplished in just one generation.

I am particularly pleased to be here in Abu Dhabi in order to raise Canada's profile in this region and to highlight the opportunities for increased trade and investment between us.

Today, I would like to suggest four areas that we can address to enhance the relationship between Abu Dhabi and Canada:

- First, we must continue to build bridges between us and expand the people-to-people contact that is so important for long-term relationships.
- Second, we must increase the level of our two-way trade, by targeting specific sectors.
- Third, we should work to increase the level of UAE [United Arab Emirates] investment in Canada.
- And fourth, we should explore the opportunities that await us in the all-important areas of training and education.

Let me just touch on each of these.

First, building bridges between us:

It is our firm belief that for a strong relationship to develop or continue between countries, you have to be prepared to put in the effort to build personal relationships. Fax to fax will never replace face to face. And I want you to know that Canada is prepared to build the kind of long-term relationship that will stand the test of time, as well as fluctuations in the marketplace.

It is no accident, therefore, that there have been a number of important Canadian visitors to the UAE recently: Governor General Roméo LeBlanc led a business and cultural delegation here in March, accompanied by the Minister of National Revenue, Herb Dhaliwal.



The fact is that Canadians are discovering Abu Dhabi as never before, and we know that this is only the beginning. In the days ahead we want to encourage even more direct, people-to-people contact between our citizens.

Of course, interest has come not only from the Canadian side. We were very pleased that so many people from Abu Dhabi — including a member of the Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce and Industry — participated in the first session of the Joint Economic Commission last July. This began in Ottawa and then continued across Canada.

We hope you liked what you saw. We are confident that through those activities, as well as through the current trade mission, strong new partnerships will be formed between our two business communities.

On a more formal level, we celebrate the official opening of our embassy here in Abu Dhabi later today. And we are delighted that the UAE will soon be opening an embassy in Ottawa. These embassies provide strong bridges between us, and will facilitate more people-to-people contact in the days ahead.

The second priority area where we can enhance our relationship is trade.

Along with 35 Canadian businesspeople, I have come here today to convey one simple message: Canada wants to do more business with Abu Dhabi. We are looking for business partners to explore new ventures, both here and in Canada.

Canada's trade with the UAE is already strong and is growing rapidly. In fact, the UAE is Canada's fastest-growing market in the Middle East, and two-way trade between us now stands at over \$270 million.

Since Canada reopened our representation here, under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Zayed, Canadian exports have skyrocketed — tripling between 1993 and 1997.

More than 35 Canadian companies already have offices in Abu Dhabi, in sectors ranging from oil and gas to defence and telecommunications.

In fact, Canadians are all around you! Canadian technology powers UAE patrol boats. Canadian architects designed and engineered both the first bridge, Al Maqta, and the first airport, Al Bateen.

A Canadian firm, Norr Giffels Associates, has been awarded the contract to build the Sheikh Zayed School for Girls.

And Bennett Pollution has provided services for the Abu Dhabi Water and Electricity Authority.

We also know that you have much to offer Canada and the world, and we want to be a good customer as well as a good supplier.

So our commercial relationship stands on a very solid base. And now the time has come to build on that foundation and to take our commercial relationship to the next level.

Third, we need to enhance UAE investment in Canada.

Canada represents about 3 percent of global capitalization. Any diversified portfolio, therefore, should have at least that amount invested in Canada. But at the moment, the UAE is placing a much lower percentage of its overseas investments in our country.

Part of the reason may be attributable to outdated ideas about Canada. You may still think of us primarily as a resource-based economy. But the fact is that we are a knowledge-based economy, fired by information technology and fuelled by the world's third-largest telecommunications industry and the fifth-largest aerospace industry.

Canada ranks first in the G-7 countries in home computer, cable and telephone penetration. It is first again in the G-7 in technology potential. Our country has put every school and library on-line.

And we are ideally located to provide a gateway, not only to the vast North American market, but also to the Pacific Rim and the emerging economies of the Americas.

You should also know that Canada offers a business environment second to none. We provide the most generous research and development tax credits in the world. We have a critical mass in terms of key technologies, and the lowest costs of doing business of any G-7 nation — as well as the best-educated work force on the globe.

The Canadian economy is strong, with low inflation, low interest rates, strong growth and a balanced budget.

And for four straight years, the United Nations has ranked our quality of life as the very best in the world.

So when you add it all up, Canada offers an ideal location for your investment dirham, and we invite you to visit.

The fourth and final area that we think holds tremendous potential is education and training.

Canadian schools and universities are recognized around the world for their excellence, and are providing the “jet fuel” for our high-tech economy. Not surprisingly, the number of students from the Arabian Gulf region who choose to study in Canada is growing. In fact, the number doubled during the last year alone.

Recognizing the enormous potential, we have an Education Adviser at our Embassy, Margaret Hogan, who is doing a magnificent job of raising awareness of the educational opportunities that await your students in Canada.

We are also pleased that Canada has been able to provide training to the UAE’s public sector. The UAE Coast Guard, for example, is being trained at the Canadian Coast Guard’s facilities, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is offering training courses to the Abu Dhabi police force.

In all of these areas — building bridges, increasing trade, attracting more UAE investment to Canada and developing the opportunities in education and training — we see tremendous potential.

And our business delegation is very interested in hearing suggestions from their Abu Dhabi counterparts about projects and investments to benefit both sides.

I believe the future of trade and investment between Abu Dhabi and Canada can be very bright.

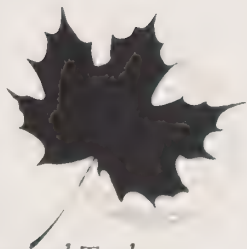
We see the dynamism of Abu Dhabi. We see its progress and sense its potential. We know that we have much to learn from you and much to offer to you.

Let us work together as partners and plan together as friends. And may the future that we seek begin today.

Thank you.



41  
EA  
577



*International Trade*  
*Commerce international*

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/12

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE  
DUBAI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates  
February 25, 1999  
(11:00 a.m. EST)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



Thank you to the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry for hosting this wonderful dinner.

From a personal perspective, I am particularly happy to be here. Last November, I made a brief stop-over in Dubai while travelling with the Prime Minister to Singapore. I hoped then that I would have the chance to return and I am just delighted that it's so soon.

So thank you for your invitation, and for this opportunity to share our enthusiasm for the future of trade and investment between the United Arab Emirates and Canada.

Links between Dubai and Canada are growing all the time. Last summer, the soccer team from Dubai Men's College toured Canada and proceeded to beat most of the Canadian college teams they played. Next year, perhaps we can send over a hockey team to try to even up the score!

Let me say how delighted we are that one of the things you have adopted from Canada is the Terry Fox Run. In fact, I understand that the Run here in Dubai is the second-largest charity event for the Terry Fox Foundation outside Canada.

Terry's run inspired our nation, as it now inspires yours, and demonstrates that not only does cancer know no borders — courage knows no nationality. And I want to thank His Highness Sheikh Ahmed bin Said al-Maktoum for his patronage of this annual event, as well as Leana Lutsch, who has chaired the Run here in Dubai for the last four years and has done such a wonderful job of promoting it.

We were also pleased to welcome members of the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry, together with their colleagues from Abu Dhabi and Sharjah, who took part in the first session of the Joint Economic Commission, which began in Ottawa in July and then proceeded across Canada. We hope you liked what you saw, and that you'll come back — to establish business connections, to see our country as tourists, and to explore opportunities as investors!

It is clear that Canada and Dubai are discovering one another as never before. This is due, in no small measure, to the excellent work done by the Canada-Arab Business Council in Canada, and the Canadian Business Council here in Dubai.

I want you to know that we appreciate all of your efforts. I am here today both to thank you and to receive your counsel on what I can do to support the work you are doing.

I want to know what specific challenges you face, what impediments need to be addressed, what obstacles need to be overcome. Working together, I am confident that we can remove these barriers to progress and give a real turbo-boost to our commercial relationship!

I am joined on this trade mission by more than 35 Canadian business leaders, all of whom recognize the tremendous potential of the UAE.



I am also pleased that 25 Canadian companies are participating in the Canadian Technology Showcase, which is taking place at the Sharjah Expo Centre, and are taking the opportunity to hold discussions with the Sharjah and Dubai business community.

Their interest is not surprising. After all, the progress of the UAE in recent years has been remarkable. You have used your tremendous hydrocarbon resources to build an economy that's both vibrant and diversified. You have a thriving private sector and strong free-trade zones, and you have established yourself as a major transportation hub with the Asian subcontinent, Africa and the central Asian Community of Independent States.

And just as you have diversified your economy, so now we invite you to diversify your economic partners. We want you to consider Canada both as a source of goods and services and as a destination for your investment dirham.

Today, I would like to suggest two areas that we can address to enhance the relationship between the UAE and Canada.

Let me just touch on each of these.

First, enhancing trade:

Two-way trade between Canada and the UAE stands at \$270 million — and is growing rapidly. Canadian exports here tripled in the last five years.

There is already a strong Canadian presence in Dubai. In fact, 1600 Canadians live here — and looking around you can see evidence of their presence.

Indeed, Canadians are helping to define the modern skyline of your region.

The National Bank of Dubai, the Sharjah Science Museum, the Sharjah Library, the Etisalat Towers, both Higher Colleges of Technology in Sharjah, and the Dubai Twin Towers — all of these were not only designed by Canadians, but also had Canadian supervision in their engineering and construction.

In fact, more than 30 companies have offices here — in sectors ranging from building and construction to aerospace and agri-food. In each of these areas, I am proud to say that our products and services enjoy a reputation for quality and competitive prices.

We, in Canada, very much appreciate the confidence that Emirates Airlines has placed in Canadian technology, and in CAE in particular, in purchasing three flight simulators and two crew training simulators for the Emirates training centre.

The UAE is renowned for its educational facilities, and Canadians have been privileged to participate in your remarkable success. Both the Vice-Chancellor of the Higher Colleges and the Director of the Men's College are Canadian. In all, some 19 Canadian professors and administrators can be found at Zayed University Campus in Dubai.

The UAE is also a very important market for Canadian agricultural and agri-food products. Canadian wheat and Canola oil, together with Robin Hood Flour, Clearly Canadian beverages and McCain's french fries, are just some of the Canadian products available here.

So, as you can see, we come today not as strangers in a distant land, but as partners and as friends. We stand on the firm foundation that you have built. And now the time has come to build on that foundation, to join hands and work together as never before to enhance trade between us.

The second area that holds great potential is UAE investment in Canada.

At the moment, Canada remains a largely undiscovered market for many of you. When you think of North America, you tend to think only about the United States. But we believe that when you look at the advantages that Canada offers, you will be impressed by what you see.

I believe that one of the impediments to greater Arab investment in Canada is an outdated notion of what we're all about. There is still the impression that Canada is a land of snow and lakes and trees — with an economy based on our natural resources.

Well, we *are* rich in natural resources, but our economy is not just resource-based. In fact, when you think of Canada today, you should be thinking high tech. You should be thinking a knowledge-based economy; fired by information technology, fuelled by telecommunications, and fortified by the fifth-largest aerospace industry in the world.

Canada is number one in the G-7 in home computer, cable and telephone penetration. Number one in the G-7 in technology potential. A country that has put every school and library on-line.

We also offer sound economic fundamentals: inflation and interest rates are low, growth is strong, and our budget is balanced.

Indeed, the Financial Times of London calls Canada the leader in the G-7. The Economist Intelligence Unit agrees, putting Canada among the top five places in the world in which to do business over the next five years.

Certainly, the many, many international corporations with investments in Canada wouldn't disagree. Their profits have risen an average of 50 percent over the last two years. And many of them have been attracted by the most generous R & D tax credits in the world.

Moreover, Canada is not just a single market of 30 million: it also provides a gateway to a market of hundreds of millions — and not only to the United States and Mexico, but also to the developing Free Trade Area of the Americas and to the exciting markets of the Pacific Rim.

When UAE firms look for a launching pad into these vast markets, we hope that a huge red maple leaf comes to their minds!

Let me also mention a study by KPMG, an international consulting company, which compared the cost of doing business in Germany, France, Italy, the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Canada — and ranked Canada number one.

That study also pointed out that Canada is tied with Sweden for the lowest overall corporate tax rates — destroying the myth that we are a high-tax environment.

In a world where technology allows companies to settle almost anywhere, quality of life considerations become very important in deciding where to set up a business. And for four straight years, the United Nations has ranked Canada's quality of life as the best in the world.

So give Canada a look. Talk to the companies represented here today. And consider making your next international investment in a country ideally positioned to benefit from the new economy — Canada!

Working together, I am confident that Dubai and Canada can form partnerships that will create jobs and growth for our people. And I am confident that we can realize the vast potential that lies before us.

As I think about that task, I am reminded of a story that is told of that great French marshal, Louis Hubert Lyautey. Marshal Lyautey once asked his gardener to plant a tree. The gardener objected that the tree was slow-growing and would not reach maturity for many years.

The marshal replied, "Then we have no time to lose. Plant it this afternoon."

The full maturation of the Dubai-Canada relationship may still be years away. But we have no time to lose. Let us plant our trees today.

Thank you.



# Statement

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

99/13

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

TO THE

SOCIÉTÉ DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES DE QUÉBEC

“HUMAN SECURITY AND CANADA’S SECURITY COUNCIL AGENDA”

QUEBEC CITY, Quebec  
February 25, 1999  
(5:00 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



Two months ago, Canada took its seat at the Security Council table. This week, we conclude our month-long tenure as Security Council President. While a brief period, the past eight weeks have been busy: the Council has been engaged in a number of difficult crises — in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Angola and Iraq. We have dealt with a variety of ongoing challenges, from peacebuilding efforts in Haiti to the continuing turbulence in central Africa to the persistent civil conflicts in Tajikistan and Georgia. And at Canada's initiative, the Council held a special session two weeks ago focussed on the protection of civilians in armed conflict — a subject we believe requires more and sustained Council attention.

The demands of Council membership are proving fully as challenging — and as unpredictable — as we had expected. The future promises to be no less active. Still, I am very encouraged by the progress we have made so far in advancing Canada's agenda, especially integrating the human dimension — human security — into the Council's work.

We invested heavily in preparing for our tenure. A key element was extensive consultation with our constituents — the UN membership and the Canadian public — about the direction we wanted the Council to take. As a result, I believe we have the mandate, the credibility and the responsibility to push our agenda forward.

Now that we are on the Council, we will continue to reach out. To that end, we held a series of public consultations on our Council tenure, including one in Montreal last month. In January, we launched a Foreign Affairs Web site dealing with Canada at the UN. It provides the latest information about our Council activities while giving Canadians a place to make comments and suggestions. It is proving to be quite popular, receiving an average of 567 hits per day. The latest edition of *Canada World View*, our department's news periodical, focusses on Canada's involvement at the UN, including our Council tenure.

I am very pleased therefore to have this opportunity to be with you today. I would like to describe briefly some of the ways I believe the world has changed since we last served on the Security Council, review how Canada has responded to these changes, and then outline how we propose to use our tenure to update the Council's operations while addressing Canadian priorities.

## **A Changed International Context**

Canada last served on the Security Council 10 years ago. During our tenure, the Cold War was just beginning to give way to a new, uncharted path to the future. This evolution has continued. The global context in which the Council operates, the membership it represents and the challenges it faces are considerably different from a decade ago.

Without doubt, global peace and security — obtaining it and maintaining it — remains the central concern of the international community and the main responsibility of the



Council. Yet, as the world has changed — and continues to change — so too has our definition of peace and security. As a result, our game plan is in need of an update. To this end, a few certainties have emerged to guide us.

As recent events in such different places as Kosovo and Sierra Leone have demonstrated, the “civilianization” of armed conflict has become the most common and lamentable feature of war in our time. More than ever, non-combatants, especially the most vulnerable, are the principal targets, the instruments and, overwhelmingly, the victims of conflict. Casualties from armed conflict have doubled in just the past 10 years to about one million annually. And whereas during the First World War only 5 percent of casualties were civilians, today that figure is closer to 80 percent.

This is partly the result of a change in the complexion of war. Most conflicts now occur inside rather than between states. In the case of failed states, modern-day warlords and vigilantes have emerged — aided and abetted by outside arms dealers and others who benefit from the marketplace of conflict. These individuals take advantage of, brutalize and terrorize civilians. The result has been human tragedies of devastating proportions: exploitation of civilians, massive refugee flows and the grossest violations of humanitarian law, including genocide.

The nature of threats to our global security is also evolving. They are no longer strictly military in nature. Many are multi-faceted and have a transnational dimension: illicit drugs, terrorism, environmental degradation, human rights abuses and weapons proliferation pose challenges that respect no borders and cut across many disciplines. They cannot be solved unilaterally. They do, however, have a direct impact on our everyday lives.

Globalization has irreversibly linked our destinies. The undeniable fact of our lives today is that they are more connected than ever. We live in the age of the World Wide Web, global markets, and real-time reporting of war and suffering; far-off concerns, isolated from our own lives, are a thing of the past. And under its shimmering surface, globalization also has a dark undertow that can expose all of us — especially the less fortunate — to economic and social insecurity. In this environment, engagement is the only option.

The common denominator of these new realities is their human dimension. Our changing world has increasingly put the individual at the centre of global affairs. As a result, the safety and well-being of the individual — that is, human security — has become both a new measure of global security and a new impetus for global action. This is not to say that traditional state-based security concerns are obsolete. Indeed, human security and national security are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they are opposite sides of the same global security coin.

This changed global context has led to a recalibration of Canada's own foreign policy priorities, with a stronger focus on issues that strike directly home to the individual. Our human security approach adapts long-standing Canadian foreign policy goals — advancing national interests while building a better world — to new international circumstances. Promoting human security involves four elements:

First is undertaking new initiatives to focus global attention and action on challenges directly threatening the security of individuals. Examples of such initiatives are the campaign to ban anti-personnel mines and our efforts to curtail the abuse and proliferation of military small arms and light weapons.

Second is pursuing focussed projects and goals that directly benefit people. These include peacebuilding via the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative; the advancement of humanitarian standards — the driving force behind our efforts to create the International Criminal Court; and adapting international and regional institutions to integrate human security concerns in their work, such as at the UN Security Council, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE], the Organization of American States [OAS]. In the context of la Francophonie and where we will seek to integrate human security concerns.

This year Canada will host the Summit of la Francophonie. As you are aware, the Francophonie has also expanded its political role. Its goals with regard to democratic development, human rights and the prevention of conflicts correspond very closely with our human security agenda. We will use our role as host of the Summit to further develop this convergence of views and goals.

Third is using innovative coalitions with other countries and civil society, plus employing new techniques such as soft power principles — negotiation rather than coercion, powerful ideas rather than powerful weapons, public diplomacy rather than backroom bargaining. This is the idea behind our co-operation with Norway and with an expanding network of like-minded countries from the four corners of the globe interested in moving human security forward.

We are also developing close co-operation with civil society, especially in our peacebuilding activities. Quebec NGOs [non-governmental organizations] play an important role to this end — for example, the roles played by the Centre canadien d'étude et de coopération internationale in conflict resolution projects in Burundi, and in support of children traumatized by the civil conflict in Algeria, or by the Société Internationale Desjardins, which is supporting democratization in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The final element is using robust action when necessary. There should be no mistake: human security can involve using strong measures, including sanctions and military force. The human security agenda confirms a Canadian tradition of firmness



in the face of threats to peace and security. We have shown our resolve in confronting the challenges of weapons of mass destruction — from Saddam Hussein's defiance of the UN to nuclear testing in the Indian subcontinent. In Kosovo, it is the defence of humanitarian objectives — the protection of civilian lives — that brought Canada with its NATO allies to the brink of military force last year and may still do so. We stand ready to do what is necessary to ensure this human crisis is resolved.

Our focus on human security should therefore not be misconstrued as softness. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how dealing with the devastating impact of landmines, the proliferation of small arms, the scourge of drugs, the exploitation of children, preventive measures against war crimes — and organizing concrete global action to confront them — could be interpreted by some as a sign of weakness.

In fact, human security directly expresses the international usefulness of the Canadian experience of using talents of accommodation, negotiation and good will to overcome differences — leading to a unified, tolerant Canada. We are called upon to give leadership, training and direction on peacekeeping, drug interdiction, policing and developing innovative approaches to overseas aid. Our resources are not unlimited but they are put to good use. And when conditions warrant, we are prepared to use vigorous action in defence of human security objectives.

### **The Security Council and Human Security**

The UN Security Council remains the paramount global instrument to safeguard peace and security. A strong, effective and purposeful Security Council is therefore essential. However, as Canada takes its seat at the Council table, the Council faces challenges to its credibility. It is falling short of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the international community.

The Council has limited its involvement in an increasing number of conflicts. It can be uneven in which conflicts it chooses to focus on: for example, there is a perception that resources are focussed on Europe at the expense of Africa. And it is entirely inactive in responding to some of the new challenges to human security. Setbacks in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda diminished the resolve of Council members to stay the course. Other factors affect the Council's capacity to act. Some are rooted in resurgent isolationist and unilateralist impulses, others in a renewed pursuit of narrow national self-interest and — most disturbingly — the shortage of funds caused by the arrears in payments of several states.

Whatever the reasons, the resulting inertia has far-reaching implications for the Council. While obliged by the UN Charter to carry out Council decisions, some countries may begin to choose not to do so. In the absence of strong, coherent global action, would-be aggressors may be tempted to act — whether their targets are other



states or civilian populations within their own borders. Weakened collective security places undue burdens on individual countries, ad hoc coalitions and regional organizations that do not always possess the capacity to respond effectively. Without resolute Council leadership and action, civilians caught in situations of armed conflict are increasingly left in a security void. This vacuum will be and, in some cases, already is being filled by others — combatants, including mercenaries, who act with little restraint and scant regard for even the most basic humanitarian standards.

Our Security Council mandate therefore comes at a historic juncture. It is an opportune moment to renew the vigour with which the Security Council approached its tasks earlier in this decade. Canada is working to shape a more proactive Council, one that focusses more on the human dimension of security and the unprecedented civilian toll of modern conflict. We will endeavour to do so by working to broaden the Council's agenda and decisions to include human security themes, to reassert its leadership, and to make the Council's operations more transparent and responsive to the UN membership. After two months on the Council, I believe we have made a good start in all three areas.

The Council has made progress toward broadening its mandate. The interpretation of what constitutes a threat to international peace and security — the litmus test for Council action — now includes intra-state issues. The need to act in support of purely humanitarian goals, to restore stability, and in defence of the security of the individual was behind the Council's operations in Cambodia, Somalia, Mozambique and Haiti.

To address today's security agenda, the Council must embrace an even more comprehensive, updated view of its mandate. We are working to enhance the Council's capacity to address new, non-traditional threats to security, such as ethnic conflict, mass refugee flows, illicit small arms trafficking, gross human rights abuse, failures of governance and the rule of law, and abject human deprivation.

There are positive trends to build on. The Council has held debates on emerging, cross-cutting security issues, such as child soldiers. Some members have made efforts to broaden the Council's purview to encompass other issues, such as terrorism and mass refugee flows. These debates help to put emerging human security issues on the Security Council's radar.

This month, Canada used its presidency to press for greater Council focus and action in order to protect civilians in armed conflict — including the safety of humanitarian workers, the displaced and refugees, and the special needs of war-affected children. Two weeks ago the Council met to consider the issue. For the first time in the Council's history, the head of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] was invited to the Council. He was joined by the head of UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] and the UN Special Representative for Children in Armed Conflict in addressing the Council.

The response among Council members was encouraging. The meeting resulted in a unanimous decision requesting that the Secretary-General prepare a list of concrete, practical recommendations about how the Council can better defend civilians in armed conflict. The subject clearly has a wide resonance among the UN membership. As a result, earlier this week the Council opened its doors, giving non-Council members the opportunity to express their views in an open debate.

Canada will also seek to ensure that human security concerns are incorporated into the Council's actions and decisions. In establishing new peace operations, the Council has begun to include, where appropriate, human rights, peacebuilding, rule of law, democratization and humanitarian components. The UN's current missions in Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic and Bosnia are examples. We will ensure that this practice is continued and strengthened.

We also need to examine carefully the use of sanctions. They are a powerful tool and need to be used properly to be effective and credible. All aspects of sanctions — the objectives, the type, the targets, implementation, conditions and timing for their suspension — need to be considered closely and continually monitored by the Council in terms of their cost-effectiveness.

That is why Canada made its proposal, accepted last month, concerning the Iraqi situation. To move forward, the Council needs clarity. To that end, the Council agreed that three separate assessments be prepared regarding disarmament, humanitarian issues, and prisoners of war and property recovery. This proposal helped break the impasse in the Council. We hope it will produce a way ahead, balancing the need for compliance by the Iraqi regime with its obligations and the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people.

Efforts to broaden the Council's horizons in its words and deeds need to be complemented by a re-assertion of the Council's leadership. This means that the Council's authority, especially concerning the possible use of military force, must be respected. We sideline the Council at our own risk. But it also means that the Council must assume its responsibilities — and take hard decisions — when the need arises, lest it risk being marginalized.

The Council must also correct its tendency to focus selectively on certain conflicts while neglecting others. The Council represents the entire international community. Its credibility depends on a willingness to address threats to peace and security wherever they occur. To that end, Canada is making an effort to ensure greater focus on the security challenges that threaten Africa. When it decides to act, the Council needs to have the resources to do so effectively. The progressive starvation of peacekeeping resources is a matter of deep concern.



When the Council takes action, its decisions must be adhered to. For example, in Angola the Council imposed an arms embargo on UNITA forces. This was a welcome, precedent-setting move. For the first time, UN sanctions were aimed at a non-state entity. However, evidence suggests that the embargo is not being respected. The result is a country awash with weapons, making the conflict harder to resolve and endangering the security of both Angolans and international personnel — as we have tragically seen in the past weeks.

Sanctions busters need to be identified and held accountable. As chair of the Angola sanctions committee, Canada will work to this end, in particular by ensuring full compliance with existing sanctions relating to oil, diamonds and arms. Our goal is to limit the ability to make war while encouraging progress toward peace. Last week, Canada presented a report to the Council suggesting further measures to tighten enforcement of the existing sanctions regime. It was welcomed by Council members, and we will work to ensure that it is followed up.

Leadership also requires outreach. To this end, Canada has promoted and will continue to promote co-operation between the Council and other regional security organizations, as we have in Haiti between the UN and the OAS, or in Bosnia, where the UN, the OSCE and NATO all have their roles. Such arrangements must spring from willing and effective partnerships — not from a void created by Security Council inaction. Pressures to contract out the Council's responsibility for peace and security to other bodies must be resisted.

To be a leader, the Council must also be ready to act — rapidly. For this reason, Canada continues to support the creation of the UN Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters. It will allow the Council to quickly establish a beachhead for a UN peace mission, increasing the chances for effective and timely Council action.

Finally, to be more effective, the Council needs to be more inclusive. Canada will continue to promote participation by non-Council countries whose nationals are involved in the conflicts over which the Council is deliberating. This means formalized, timely consultations with troop-contributing countries so they can have their say. It means finding ways to allow non-members to contribute to Council meetings — without diminishing Council members' prerogative to meet in camera. It means providing a greater information flow from the Council and the Secretary-General to the UN membership. Here, too, there has been progress we can build on.

## **Conclusion**

Since we last served on the Council, the world has changed. Canada's foreign policy has also evolved. What remains constant is the need for a strong, effective Security Council. Admittedly, we have an ambitious agenda. There are certainly no guarantees that we can achieve everything we set out to attain. The Council is not an institution



open to revolutionary change, and we have no illusions about the feasibility of introducing sweeping reforms. Clearly, the real-time demands of the world will also inevitably intrude on even the best-laid plans.

However, we will apply ourselves to the substantive issues before the Council during our term, bringing our values and interests to bear on them. We will advance our human security agenda by working with other Council members to explore how and when it may be appropriate for the Council to take action in conflict situations in which it might not have become engaged in the past. Indeed, in recent years, the Security Council has moved in the direction that Canada is advocating. It is still early days, but I am encouraged by the contribution we have made; and in the remaining 22 months we will remain committed to building a Security Council capable of addressing the changing needs of our time.

Thank you.



*International Trade*  
*Commerce international*

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/14

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI,  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE,  
ON THE OCCASION OF  
THE CANADIAN TRADE MISSION  
TO RAMALLAH



RAMALLAH, West Bank  
February 27, 1999  
(8:00 a.m. EST)







On behalf of the Canadian delegation of business leaders, let me say how pleased we are to be here in Ramallah.

On Friday, I had the privilege of meeting with Chairman Arafat in Gaza. We had a lengthy discussion about the political situation in the region and also about the Joint Framework that we will sign in a moment.

As you know, we have just come from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, and we will next travel to Israel before returning home to Canada.

It has been a very productive mission so far, with many new business opportunities explored and many new friendships formed. It has been a time to dispel old notions about one another and to develop new partnerships with one another.

Above all, it has been an opportunity for Canada to say, in no uncertain terms, that we want to do more business here in the Middle East.

I have very much been looking forward to this portion of our trip because I know of the important contribution that the Palestinian community in Canada has made to the growth and development of our country.

Palestinians have distinguished themselves in all aspects of Canadian society and have greatly enriched their adopted land.

So, although Canada and the Middle East are separated by many miles, we are united by many individual bonds of family and friends.

Our relationship also is rooted in common values and a shared belief — a belief in the dignity and worth of every individual.

For all of these reasons, Canada has always had a tremendous interest in this region — in its people and in its future.

It is not surprising, then, that we are strong supporters of the current peace process, launched in Madrid in 1991. I know that there has been some disappointment that the peace process has not produced the fruits we would have wished to see in the West Bank and Gaza in terms of development or prosperity. And we also know that political uncertainty continues over the eventual outcome of negotiations with Israel.

It remains our firm belief, however, that continuing political negotiations and the implementation of all agreements, by both parties, remain the best hope for peace and prosperity.

As you know, Canada is Chair of the Refugee Working Group, which seeks to improve living conditions for people displaced by the Arab-Israeli conflict and to

support dialogue between the parties to find a just, comprehensive and durable solution to the refugee problem.

Canada has also provided support to Palestinians through our development assistance programs, which have been directed to meeting basic human needs in areas such as electrification, water purification and training. Last November, Canada committed itself to investing \$92 million over the next four years for further development assistance.

On a people-to-people level, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Youth International Internship Program has sponsored some 20 Canadian young people, who have spent the past six months working with Palestinian firms and agencies, both to share their expertise and to gain valuable experience.

And so I come today, standing on the firm foundation of a friendship developed over many years. But I also come at the beginning of an important new stage in our relations. A stage, we hope, that will be characterized by much more trade and investment between us.

I am pleased to say that we are taking important steps along that road today.

In a few moments, Minister Maher al-Masri and I will sign a Canadian-Palestinian Framework for Economic Co-operation and Trade.

The Framework formalizes a bilateral free trade arrangement between us and opens the way for significantly more commercial activity. By eliminating almost all tariffs on manufactured goods and facilitating access to each other's markets, the Framework will create opportunities for businesses on both sides.

And it demonstrates that our two governments want to let the private sector do what it does best: create jobs for our people.

I know that in the past, constraints have prevented Palestinian trade from being as free and open as we would like. I also know that some constraints remain. But I am confident that our respective public sectors can break down the barriers to trade so that we can, indeed, realize the full potential of our commercial relations. And I look forward to working with Minister Masri as we pursue that goal together.

The Framework also contemplates future meetings to discuss trade, to support technological training and to promote economic development in the West Bank and Gaza. More importantly, it also sends a very clear signal to Canadian firms that this is a market we believe in and they should pursue.

The Framework does something else as well. It serves as a complement to our Free Trade Agreement with Israel and demonstrates our commitment to a fair and balanced presence in this region.

I know that there has been some discussion about the relationship of goods produced by Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza to this trade Framework. So let me be very clear about Canada's position on this question.

We believe that the continued expansion of these settlements is unhelpful to the peace process. We therefore consider any economic activity conducted within those settlements to lack legitimacy.

This agreement is about Canadian-Palestinian commercial relations.

While the Framework is a significant step, it is not the only one we are taking today. In just a few hours, we will officially open the Canadian Representative Office here in Ramallah.

This will be the "front door" for Palestinians wanting to do business with Canada. And I invite you to call on the office, call on it soon and call on it often.

At the moment, trade between Canada and the West Bank and Gaza is very small — less than \$1 million a year. But we also know that the potential is great — that we have just begun to explore the possibilities that await us.

As the West Bank and Gaza continue to grow and develop — investing in infrastructure, training, manufacturing and export development — Canada stands ready to assist.

Canadian expertise in construction, information and environmental technologies, as well as in education and training, is well represented in the delegation here today, and I would encourage you to consider the advantages our firms have to offer.

But I think it is also beyond doubt that trade and commerce can open hearts as well as markets — that strong and competitive markets can be a strong and effective instrument for peace. Indeed, the relationship between peace and freer trade is clear. At its best, free trade acts as a system of rules for peaceful economic relations.

And commercial ties create a greater incentive to work for peace, because when nations begin trading together and establishing a mutually beneficial connection with one another, there is a greater tendency to see one another, not as adversaries to be confronted, but as allies to be consulted.



And in very practical terms, capital projects in areas such as transportation, energy and communications are less likely to be considered when conflict is imminent.

To build peace, we must also build prosperity — a prosperity in which all peoples of the region have a stake. And so our commitment to freer trade with this region goes hand in hand with our commitment to peace.

In the days ahead, we will work hard to expand trade and investment between us. We will work hard to build the kinds of long-term relationships that breed confidence and trust. And we will work hard to help you develop a robust and sustainable economy.

Today we celebrate the birth of a new era in Canadian-Palestinian relations. The first important steps have been taken, but we still have a long road ahead of us.

Let us resolve to walk that road together and, in so doing, provide opportunities — not only for today, but also for generations to come.

Thank you.



*International Trade*  
*Commerce international*

# Statement

---

www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca

99/15

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
AT A  
BUSINESS DINNER HOSTED BY  
THE CANADIAN EMBASSY

TEL AVIV, Israel  
February 28, 1999  
(1:00 p.m. EST)







On behalf of the Canadian delegation, let me first of all say how delighted we are to be here in Israel. Canadians know that when we are in Israel, we are among friends. And you have certainly reinforced that feeling with your warm reception. It is good to be here this evening and to end our trade mission where our free trade efforts in this region began.

On the way over this evening, I was thinking about the similarities between our two countries — and there are more than you might realize. Both border on the sea and have relatively small populations concentrated in large urban centres. Both are home to many people who migrated from around the world.

Our political systems are both based on parliamentary democracy and we espouse similar views on many international matters. And both Israel and Canada are export-oriented nations, with tremendous strength in high technology.

Of course, there are also some important differences between our countries. In Canada hockey reigns supreme, while in Israel soccer and basketball command most of the attention.

But while there are some differences between us, tonight I want to celebrate what we have in common, and that is a future of increasing prosperity based on growing trade and investment links.

It is just over two years ago that the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement (CIFTA) came into force. The impetus for that agreement, Canada's first outside our hemisphere, came from the understanding on both sides that freer trade is the way of the future.

Indeed, Israel and Canada are firmly committed to freer trade. Canada has signed free trade agreements with the United States, Mexico and Chile, and we are deeply involved in negotiating a Free Trade Area of the Americas, as well as pursuing a free trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association.

And just yesterday, I signed a Framework for Economic Co-operation and Trade with the Palestinians, thereby granting them the benefits of free trade.

Israel's support for freer trade is evidenced by your having signed agreements with the European Union, Turkey, Slovakia, Czech Republic and, shortly, with Mexico.

The Free Trade Agreement between us was also born out of the strong historical ties between our two countries. Our relationship is rooted in common values and shared beliefs. We share links of history, commerce, culture, family and religion.

Canada's ongoing commitment to the peace process here in the Middle East has also engendered an abiding interest in Israel and its security.

But while our interest in Israel may be steeped in history, we come here tonight with our eyes fixed firmly on the future.

And we believe that the CIFTA will play a large role in defining that future.

When it was signed, some people called the Agreement a leap of faith. We saw it as a declaration of confidence — confidence in Israel and in this region, confidence in our own ability to sell into a rich and sophisticated market and confidence in the capacity of trade to increase prosperity and create jobs for our people.

Since that time, our confidence has certainly been justified. Commercial activity between our two nations has increased dramatically — up 17 percent in just those two years. Two-way trade now stands at \$640 million, and Canadian direct investment in Israel has doubled since 1997.

Quite frankly, Israeli companies have been quicker off the mark than Canadians have been in terms of taking advantage of the opportunities presented by the Free Trade Agreement. Indeed, Israeli exports to Canada have almost doubled since it came into force in 1997. Hopefully, with this trade mission we can even things out a bit!

The fact is, we see great potential for Canadian goods and services here in Israel. We know that many have already been very well accepted here.

Products like the President's Choice line of foods, which is now carried by Greenberg's food stores. Products like Bombardier's Challenger jets, which are now an important part of your domestic air service.

We have also seen exciting joint ventures, such as the one between Northern Telecom and TelRad to provide the communications infrastructure for the Israeli Air Force.

And in services, examples include Air Canada, which recently won a top international airline award. Air Canada operates a very successful direct route from Tel Aviv to Montreal and Toronto.

We were also very pleased that a Canadian engineering and construction firm — Canadian Highways International Corporation (CHIC) — was awarded the contract to build the cross-Israel highway.

But for all the success stories so far, we know that there are many more waiting to be written. The CIFTA opened doors, and we hope that this trade mission will help to open eyes — on both sides — to the possibilities for business between us.

I was delighted to learn that the Manufacturers' Association of Israel will be leading a trade and investment mission to Canada next month. This is just one more sign of the growing awareness of the potential of our relationship, and we very much look forward to welcoming you.

One of the advantages of the CIFTA is that it is a dynamic — not a static — agreement. And if we are to fully realize the potential of our commercial relationship, we need to enhance and expand it.

I met this past Thursday with Trade Minister Sharansky and was delighted at the progress made by the Trade Commission on a number of outstanding issues — progress that will help to expand the Agreement.

We are also pleased by the increase in research and development projects that has taken place under the Canada–Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation (CIIRDF).

The Foundation, as you know, was established in 1993 to promote industrial co-operation and has played a key role in matching Israeli and Canadian firms. To date, the Foundation has approved 28 projects, worth over \$10 million, in collaborative R&D.

The Foundation is a marvellous example of Israelis and Canadians working side by side, learning from one another and pushing the envelope in exciting new areas of research with a view to commercialization.

So our relationship stands on solid ground. Through initiatives like the CIFTA and the CIIRDF, we have laid the foundation for much greater trade and investment between us.

Now we must take the next step and push our commercial relationship onto the next level. And I would like to hear your ideas about the best way to do that.

Are there sectors that we could liberalize further? How can we better promote the opportunities of the CIFTA to our business communities? What's the best way to encourage more business-to-business contacts? How do we encourage more of our small and medium-sized enterprises to export? Should we be promoting more sectoral missions to each other's country?

In short, how do we ensure that the full benefits and potential of the CIFTA are realized?

From the Canadian perspective, I think we need to do a better job of explaining the benefits we offer to Israeli investors: advantages like a low-cost business



environment, a high-tech economy, a superbly educated workforce and a location that makes us the gateway not only to the vast North American market, but also to the growing economies of the Pacific Rim and the Americas.

These are some of the issues and some of the possibilities, but I would value your input and suggestions as we move forward.

Canada's commitment to freer trade with Israel — and with others around the globe — is based not only on commercial considerations, but also on our firm belief that prosperity and peace go hand in hand.

Former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin once said that “peace requires a world of new concepts,” and one of the most important new concepts shaping our world today is freer trade.

Commercial ties create a greater incentive to work for peace because when nations begin trading together and establishing mutually beneficial connections with one another, there is a greater tendency to see one another, not as adversaries, but as partners, with common interests.

And just as prosperity and stability can contribute to peace, so peace can contribute to prosperity.

Just look at the benefits that the peace process has already brought to this region. A large number of capital projects in the areas of transportation, energy and communications are under consideration by Israel and its neighbours — a development that would have been unthinkable just a few years ago.

That is why, throughout our trip to the Middle East, we have made the commitment to contribute to sustainable economic development. That is why we have spoken of the advantages of building a prosperity in which all peoples of the region have a stake. And that is why we have promoted the benefits of freer trade.

The signing of the CIFTA marked an important new stage in the Israeli-Canadian relationship. It made us partners not only for peace but for progress, not only for security but for prosperity, and not only for survival but for enrichment.

This region, too, through the Oslo and Wye Accords, has been set on a new path. And while we do not underestimate the challenges still to be overcome, neither should we be blind to the progress you have made.

So let us continue to work for freer trade and greater prosperity in this region, knowing that as we do, we are helping to create the foundations for peace. In those efforts, you will find in Canada a firm friend and a faithful partner.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/16

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE OPENING OF THE  
NGO PEACEBUILDING CONSULTATIONS**

**OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 2, 1999  
(12:45 p.m. EST)**



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

**Canada**





I am pleased to welcome you to the third annual NGO [non-governmental organization] peacebuilding consultations. I am happy to see familiar faces, along with some new ones, and especially pleased to welcome the winners of the Peacebuilding Youth Competition. More of that later.

At the outset I would like to welcome the participation of Paul Van Tongeren, Executive Director of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention. His participation is an excellent example of how the non-governmental community in Canada reaches out to colleagues in other countries.

I would also like to welcome my colleague the Minister for International Co-operation and Minister responsible for La Francophonie, Diane Marleau. I am pleased to have her here today at the Peacebuilding Consultations, given our joint responsibility for the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative.

## **A Brief Review**

The government's peacebuilding initiative has now reached a certain level of maturity since the former Minister for International Co-operation and Minister responsible for La Francophonie, Don Boudria, and I unveiled it in October 1996. At that time, we were seeking ways to come to grips with the reality that the end of the Cold War had brought with it not global peace but a new intensification of internal conflict with a profound impact on the lives of civilians. Indeed, this was part of a changing global landscape with new challenges such as international crime, drugs, and terrorism that put more and more individuals at risk.

This led us to put in place our human security agenda, which takes the security of the individual as a starting point for global action. With regard to conflict and post-conflict situations, we realized then that there clearly was a need to address the challenge of building sustainable peace in countries prone to recurring cycles of violence.

The statistics were and remain depressing. Whereas during the First World War 5 percent of the casualties from armed conflict were civilian, that figure is now closer to 80 percent. And the number of casualties from armed conflict keeps rising — almost doubling since the 1980s to about one million victims per year. The need to cast a lifeline to foundering societies struggling to end the cycle of violence, restore civility and get back on their feet remains as pressing as ever.

We also recognized that Canada has some real strengths that could be put to use in the service of peacebuilding:

- the wealth of skills and institutions that Canadians have developed in the nurturing our own democracy;
- our highly developed expertise in the area of information technology;
- our practical and long-standing experience in supporting peace through peacekeeping operations;

- our extensive global experience in international development, which has given Canadians in government, business and NGOs a wealth of knowledge and skills to help developing countries advance their economies and societies;
- the multicultural roots of many Canadians, which provide direct knowledge of the culture and history of many countries;
- the fact — by now a cliché — that Canadians by and large are seen as not being encumbered by colonial or imperial baggage; as a result, we do not face an initial wall of suspicion when we work with another country or culture.

As I explained when I announced the Peacebuilding Initiative in 1996 at York University, this initiative should enable us to mobilize Canadian ideas, actions and funds, and enable Canadians to use the wealth of skills and institutions that they have developed in nurturing our own democracy. And, indeed, the initiative has enabled us to harness these skills and expertise. To that end, we have made particular use of three key tools: the Peacebuilding Fund, the Peacebuilding Program, and the development of genuine partnerships between the government and the non-governmental community, along with an intensified process of consultations with other governments and key international organizations.

### **Making a Difference**

Since we last met, we have registered some success and some progress in advancing a number of key components of our human security agenda, including: the Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel mines; the adoption of the Statute of the International Criminal Court; and integrating human security into the work of the Security Council. For example, last month at the Security Council we organized a successful discussion on the protection of civilians in armed conflict; leadership on small arms proliferation; and a proactive agenda on war-affected children. I am pleased that you will be covering the latter two issues in your workshops.

Both the Peacebuilding Fund and Peacebuilding Program have played, and are playing, an important part in moving the human security agenda ahead in these and other areas. The main focus areas of our efforts relate to war-affected children, gender issues, small arms proliferation, strengthening multilateral mechanisms and co-ordinating peace support operations.

To cite but a few examples:

- The Peacebuilding Initiative has allowed us to support, in collaboration with Norway, a project aimed at strengthening local capacity to counsel children traumatized by massacres in Algeria.
- Furthermore, I have recently announced that we will be providing \$400 000 to the Trust Fund of the UN Special Representative on Children and Armed Conflict, Olara Otunnu, in order to enable him to fulfil his mandate.



- In peace support operations, Canada has enabled CARE Canada to respond to the need to include civilian experts in the OSCE's [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] Kosovo Verification Mission.
- And finally we have provided electoral support to Nigeria for the first democratic elections that the country has held in several years. Our support was channelled through the UN in order to co-ordinate international observers, and through Nigerian national NGOs in order to secure their own involvement in the monitoring of the electoral process to ensure its free and fair unfolding.

A full account of the many areas, activities and projects of the Peacebuilding Initiative can be found in our publication *Peace in Progress*.

### **Making Peacebuilding More Relevant to Canadians**

This year's consultations are geared toward making peacebuilding more relevant to Canadians. With two years of activity behind us, we have built a good foundation in connecting Canadians with the importance of peacebuilding. We have made a special effort to draw on Canadians' skills and capacities and build them up.

- The Youth International Internship Program has developed skills in technology and the Internet, with roughly 50 percent of all interns going overseas obtaining an internship in Internet-related fields; we have also placed a number of young Canadians into projects that have a direct impact on peacebuilding;
- CANADEM [The Canadian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights], which is funded from the Peacebuilding Program, has developed a substantial roster of Canadians with expertise in peacebuilding-related fields; one result is that Canada was able to respond quickly to the need for a range of civilian skills in the OSCE's Kosovo Verification Mission;
- The Peacebuilding Youth Competition, an essay contest that we arranged this year and whose winners are being honoured today, is another means of drawing young people into the circle of peacebuilding. I was quite impressed by the thoughtfulness and commitment of those who competed;
- Our Cultural Initiatives for War-Affected Children program, which has its own funding, has attracted the interest and imagination of a range of artistic Canadians and international counterparts;

The Peacebuilding Youth Competition, the wide interest in Canada's membership in the UN Security Council, and other input from Canadians through our National Forum demonstrates to me that Canadians do see peacebuilding as relevant to fulfilling our national vocation in promoting international peace and security.

We need to continue our efforts to reach out and educate. It is all too easy for people to be overtaken by domestic agendas and forget the real impact of international conflict on their lives in Canada. For that reason, I would welcome your views on how



we can make peacebuilding more relevant to Canadians — on how can we better bring the skills of Canadians into the peacebuilding work that we are undertaking.

A case in point is the very real challenge of improving our capacity for civilian deployments to support multidisciplinary peace support operations, an issue I know you are exploring in one of your workshops this afternoon. We have good mechanisms in place for military and civilian police deployments, and we have some machinery to attract people with other expertise, for example, through CANADEM. But I think we need to do more to develop our methods.

### **Making Canadians More Relevant to Peacebuilding**

At the same time as we endeavour to make peacebuilding more relevant to Canadians, it is also crucial that we successfully manage to make Canadians more relevant to peacebuilding.

One method is to use our memberships in international organizations to promote a Canadian vision of peacebuilding. I have already spoken of our work in the UN Security Council concerning the impact of conflict on civilians. Through our very active membership in the International Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), we are also bringing our expertise to bear on issues of representative institution-building.

We have developed special partnerships with other countries to promote Canada's peacebuilding and human security agenda. Our human security partnership with Norway is the clearest example, one where we combine our talents with those of another country that has similar priorities to improve the security of individuals affected by conflict. We connect with other countries of both the North and South on similar issues, for example, the Netherlands and Britain (our colleagues on the Security Council), South Africa and Japan. We have also worked very closely with the European Commission on anti-personnel mines and small arms proliferation.

Finally, we are in the business of promoting new and innovative international thinking on issues of peacebuilding. Some examples are the seminar we sponsored in March 1998 on Strengthening Co-operative Approaches to Conflict Prevention — The Role of Regional Organizations and the UN; our support for the seminar held in New York in July 1998 on Strengthening the Role of Special Representatives of the Secretary-General; and the Canada-Japan Symposium on Peace and Security held in Vancouver in September 1998. I should also mention the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, which plays such a vital role in stimulating discussion and exchanges of research and opinion between the government and Canadians. We are seeking out opportunities to engage in cutting-edge policy research in this area, and I know officials are eager to participate in the workshop tomorrow on academic research and research interests.

## Conclusion

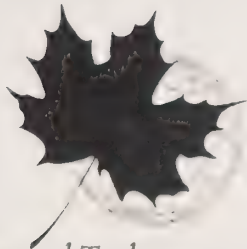
Our peacebuilding initiative is well and truly launched. It has become a part of our foreign policy, as well as being at the centre of a set of partnerships with Canadian civil society. As we continue to deal with a world of conflict and tension, there will continue to be a need for peacebuilding. Peacebuilding tools will need to be flexible and adaptable as we learn more about what works and as the challenges themselves change. As we work in this area, we must continue to reach out to Canadians both to ensure support for these efforts and to bring to bear the enormous skills in this country to help build sustainable international peace.

My officials look forward to their discussions with you over the next two days. May I take this opportunity to wish you successful and productive discussions. I look forward to hearing the results of your work.

Thank you.







International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/19

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI

MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE

AT THE LAUNCH OF THE KPMG STUDY:

***THE COMPETITIVE ALTERNATIVES: A COMPARISON OF  
BUSINESS COSTS IN NORTH AMERICA, EUROPE AND JAPAN***

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 11, 1999  
(1:00 p.m. EST)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



This study is good news for Canada, and for all regions of the country.

For the second time in less than two years, Canada has placed first in KPMG's international comparison of business costs.

This year's study is even better. It now includes eight countries in its research — the G-7 [Group of Seven nations] and Austria — and it has broadened the scope of industry sectors analysed.

On practically every measure in this new study, Canada comes out as the lowest cost alternative among the industrialized nations, and Canadian cities consistently top the list when compared with locations in other countries.

By clearly demonstrating Canada's cost advantages to international business investors, the KPMG study squarely confronts any myths that may still persist, according to which Canada is a high-cost business environment.

Any business leader thinking about expansion — especially in the North American market — should take a serious look at the data in this study.

I want to congratulate the KPMG researchers for a job well done. And I want to acknowledge the main corporate sponsors: the Royal Bank, Ontario Power Generation and Bell Canada, along with the Government of Austria (a new sponsor).

This year's study has close to 30 sponsors, including many local and regional Canadian economic development agencies. This local participation should not go overlooked. Investment promotion is just as important at the community level as it is at the international level.

Transnational companies may choose to invest in a country because of its attractive business climate, but the final site decision is a local one. In other words, companies may choose a country but they invest in a community.

This is why we have to work together to attract new job-creating investment — as we did with Harris Corporation, a high-tech firm based in the United States that recently committed well over \$100 million to export-oriented plants in both Montreal and Calgary.

Make no mistake, the international competition to attract new investment is intense. We had to *sell* Harris on Canada. We need to be very aggressive to attract the foreign investment dollars that mean more jobs and economic prosperity here at home. Economists tell us that every billion dollars in new foreign investment, sustained over a five-year period, brings with it some 45 000 jobs.



We want those jobs for Canadians. And we want the technology and the R&D [research and development] that are imported here, as well as the new export opportunities generated by foreign direct investment.

That is precisely why our government has made investment promotion a priority. And that is why we are working to carry the message of the "Canadian Advantage" to business investors and site selectors around the globe, as the Prime Minister and I did in January in Davos.

Fortunately, we have a good story to tell.

Over the last few years, we have made Canada one of the most attractive environments for business investment in the world.

We have taken firm control of government spending, balanced the books and restored our favoured ranking in international money markets.

We have created a highly supportive environment for innovation through R&D tax incentives and new funding for scientific research.

We are chalking up record levels of export sales. We have a complete range of export financing services and more than 800 Trade Commissioners at home and abroad.

As is now well known, we are judged by the UN Development Program to be the best place in the world in which to live.

And now, on top of all that, we have the evidence from KPMG that Canada has the lowest cost of doing business in the G-7!

On practically every measure employed in the study, Canada ranks as the best choice for investors.

On labour costs, for example, we are the lowest among the G-7 countries. Compared with the United States, Canadian labour is 32 percent less expensive.

At the same time, we have one of the world's most highly skilled and technologically sophisticated labour forces.

In terms of industry sectors, Canada leads in eight of the nine sectors analyzed by KPMG (and we are a very close second in the ninth). When it comes to the high value-added technology and capital-intensive industries, Canadian locations are almost 8 percent less expensive than the United States.

The software sector looks particularly good for Canada: the costs of operating a software company here are at least 12 percent lower than in comparable U.S. locations. That means a 110-employee software firm would save \$1.6 million a year in operating costs if it was based in Canada instead of the United States.

When we look at the costs of doing business in Canadian cities, as compared with cities in other G-7 countries, Canada consistently comes out on top.

There are 25 Canadian cities included in the study and *every single one of them* offers a lower-cost environment for business than locations in the United States. That includes the U.S. Sunbelt cities, which are often touted as having a cost advantage over Canada.

So the KPMG study refutes many of the myths about Canada being a high-cost business environment. And let me draw your attention to the fact that the costing model used by KPMG includes business taxes too.

When taxes are factored in with all the other costs of doing business — such as cost of land and buildings, of electricity and telecommunications, of transportation, and of labour (including benefits) — Canada comes out with the lowest overall costs.

Our next challenge is to make sure that investors across the international community hear and understand this good news too. We have to use this story to attract the new investment that means jobs and economic growth for Canadians.

A few weeks ago, I announced an expansion of our popular Program for Export Market Development, and many new community investment outreach campaigns are being planned as I speak. The KPMG study can be used by communities to get onto the radar screens of foreign investment decision makers.

In addition, I have asked our Heads of Mission and Trade Commissioners in posts around the world to bring the KPMG study to the business communities in their countries. In fact, Canadian Ambassadors to several European countries are here with me today.

But this is a story that we all have to tell. We can all be good-will ambassadors in spreading the message of the Canadian Advantage. We need to employ a Team Canada effort on investment as well because ultimately, this country works best when it works together.

I am delighted to know that so many of you share our interest. I look forward to working with all of you to attract the new investment that will help keep Canada number one — on every count.

Thank you.







International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/20

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE  
ETHNOCULTURAL BUSINESS INITIATIVE SEMINAR  
HOSTED BY  
SARKIS ASSADOURIAN, MP, BRAMPTON CENTRE

BRAMPTON, Ontario  
March 13, 1999  
(12:30 p.m. EST)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



This is a wonderful idea and an important initiative. I want to congratulate Sarkis for all of his hard work in pulling it together.

I think that if we had to provide simultaneous translation for this event, we would need to borrow a whole roomful of staff from the United Nations! Certainly the number of countries and regions of the world-represented here today is a strong testament not only to the diversity of Canada but also to the advantages it has in terms of international trade.

In fact, one of the most important competitive advantages that we have in Canada is sitting in this room. And I don't say that as idle flattery.

As International Trade Minister, I am always amazed at how the ties of heart and heritage provide connections for Canadian businesspeople abroad. But when you think about it, it only makes sense.

People trade with countries they feel most comfortable with, in languages they speak and in cultures they understand. As a nation of immigrants, Canada has ties with every corner of the globe. There are very few countries indeed that can look to Canada and not see their own reflection.

And so the various ethnocultural associations that are represented here today provide a crucial competitive edge to our country.

Today's seminar is all about cultivating those ties. It is about capitalizing on the bridges you offer to the lands of your birth or ancestry. It is about encouraging more small- and medium-sized enterprises [SMEs] to look abroad for new markets and new opportunities. And it is about selling the advantages of Canada to the world.

Let me touch briefly on each of these points.

First is capitalizing on our connections with other lands.

As the son of immigrants, I understand something about the immigrant experience. I know that we live today in relative prosperity only because so many of our parents made the struggle to emerge from abject poverty.

I know that we are proud of our heritage and that our loyalty is not so much divided as shared — between the land of our forebears and the land of our future.

And I know that, just as our ancestors reached across the Atlantic or the Pacific for new opportunities, so today we must extend ourselves beyond our frontiers to embrace the possibilities that await us.



Why do I say that? Because there is no better creator of jobs than trade.

Now, as International Trade Minister, you would expect me to say that. But consider these facts:

Trade has become a huge part of our economy. Exports alone account for 40 percent of our GDP. And one job out of every three in Canada depends on trade. One in three!

Canada is recognized around the world as a trading powerhouse. Per capita, we export three times as much as the Americans and twice as much as the Japanese. Little wonder, then, that *Time* magazine has called us an "Exporting Superhero."

But, as the saying goes, there is nothing harder on your laurels than resting on them, and if we are to continue to grow, to provide the economic opportunities to our children that our parents gave to us, then we need to aggressively seek out new markets and new partners.

And we need to build on the ethnic and cultural ties that we have around the world.

To do that, we need to address one of the other themes of today's seminar, and that's encouraging more SMEs to seek opportunities abroad.

I hardly need to remind any of you that small and medium-sized enterprises are a vital part of the Canadian economy. They create most of the new jobs and are fastest to move into evolving market niches for products and services.

They are nimble, dynamic and creative, and among the most innovative businesses around.

That's the good news. The bad news is that only 10 percent of them are exporting.

Our challenge — not only mine as International Trade Minister but all of ours, as Canadians — is to increase that number and to change our trade culture to the point where Canadian businesses, large *and* small, seize the opportunities that await them beyond our borders.

To encourage that, I have created a special unit in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) devoted specifically to SMEs.

Recently, DFAIT held a video conference and knowledge café on opportunities in China for SMEs. The event was held simultaneously in nine cities across Canada and included a direct link with senior Canadian trade representatives in China and Hong Kong. It was certainly an innovative event and demonstrates how DFAIT is working to

use high technology to disseminate market information to new export-ready firms seeking to expand their international commerce.

We have also launched a number of programs and an entire range of services designed to meet the particular needs of SMEs. Many of the departments and agencies involved with these services are here today. I encourage you to talk with them and get a feel for the kind of support that is available.

For example, we have created a huge data base called WIN Exports, which helps to match what Canadians have to sell with what the world wants to buy. By registering your business with WIN Exports, you become part of that data base and our Trade Commissioners around the world can be on the lookout for potential customers on your behalf.

And in order to simplify things for SMEs, we have brought all federal government trade promotion services under one umbrella called Team Canada Inc. This builds on the spirit and success of our Team Canada Trade Missions. There is information on Team Canada Inc here today, and I invite you to take a look at it.

We have also gone on line to make information easier to obtain. "ExportSource" is a Web site that contains all the information SMEs could want on exporting. No more running from department to department — just a click of the mouse, seven days a week, 24 hours a day.

Similarly, you can call the Export Information Service anywhere in Canada at 1-888-811-1119 to access the Team Canada Inc service that you need.

And the number one asset to help SMEs export is the Trade Commissioner Service, which operates through our network of embassies, high commissions and consulates abroad. The demand for service has gone up dramatically in recent years and so we are redeploying our people. By the year 2006 we will have 70 percent of our Trade Commissioners in the field.

Of course, a key concern for any small business is financing. The Export Development Corporation [EDC] has created a special unit devoted to meeting the needs of smaller businesses. Again, there are EDC representatives here today, so take advantage of this opportunity and learn what it has to offer you.

The final component of today's seminar is selling Canada to the world.

Just as we need to encourage more of our own business to seek out opportunities abroad, we also need to bring international investment to Canada. To do that, we need to get out the message about what Canada has to offer. And in those efforts you can be our best ambassadors.

Through your connections both at home and abroad, you can help dispel some of the outdated notions about Canada.

The fact is that we have an economic climate second to none. With low interest rates, low inflation, a dynamic and diverse economy, world-leading technologies, an educated work force and a superb infrastructure — not to mention our position as a gateway to the vast North American marketplace, including our NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] partner Mexico — Canada offers a nearly ideal place for international investment.

Sometimes we Canadians are a bit too reluctant to blow our own horn, but the fact is that we live in the best country in the world. And the United Nations agrees with that! The International Monetary Fund predicts that Canada will lead the G-7 in both economic growth and job creation in 1999. And the Economist Intelligence Unit calls Canada one of the top five places in the world in which to do business over the next few years.

So let's get that message out. Let's tell people about the study by KPMG which compared the cost of doing business in seven of the top economies of the world — including the United States — and ranked Canada as number one.

Let's tell them that ours is a high-tech economy, fired by information technology, fuelled by telecommunications and fortified by the fifth-largest aerospace industry in the world.

And let's encourage international investors to bring vital capital, technology and jobs to Canada!

You know, it has been said that all politics is local. The same is true of trade. There are plenty of big numbers thrown around — so many billions of exports or millions of imports. But the fact is that behind all those numbers are individual men and women — your neighbours and mine — who are producing the goods, offering the services and taking the risks that generate jobs for themselves and for others.

Trade isn't something that happens "out there" to other people; it is something that is going on right now in your communities. And it is something that you can be a part of.

I know that Tony Valeri and Walt Lastewka will be hosting sessions this afternoon and I don't want to eat into their time.

Let me just say again how much I have appreciated this chance to be with you and to share some thoughts about the world of opportunity that is unfolding for Canadians.



By building on our cultural connections, encouraging more companies to export, and selling the benefits of Canada to other businesspeople in other lands, I believe we can create opportunities for ourselves and for our children that our parents could never have dreamed of.

That is the strength of our country and that is its promise for the future.

Thank you.





*International Trade*  
*Commerce international*

# *Statement*

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/21

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY**  
**THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI**  
**MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE**  
**TO THE CALGARY AND CANADIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE**

**CALGARY, Alberta**  
**March 15, 1999**  
**(10:40 a.m. EST)**



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

**Canada**





Thank you, to the Calgary and Canadian Chambers of Commerce, for your generous invitation. Calgarians are famous for their hospitality, and you have certainly continued that tradition here today.

As you can see, a number of officials are with me this afternoon. Deputy Minister Donald Campbell and Assistant Deputy Ministers George Haynal, Lucie Edwards and Kathryn McCallion are all here to answer the questions that I can't.

We are also fortunate to have with us today some 20 ambassadors and high commissioners from our embassies in Latin America and the Caribbean. All of them are doing an outstanding job of representing Canadian interests in that dynamic region. Canada's future is certainly tied to that of our hemispheric neighbours, and we are turning our attention south of the Rio Grande as never before. So thank you again for your contributions on our behalf.

Today I would like to speak very briefly about the upcoming rounds of international trade negotiations and the need to make the process more transparent and more accessible to Canadians from coast to coast.

As you know, this is an important year on the trade front since WTO [World Trade Organization] ministers will be meeting in Seattle, in December, to embark on a new round of negotiations. In addition, Canada is chairing the Free Trade Area of the Americas [FTAA] negotiations until October of next year.

Canada intends to be at these tables, because we want to help shape the direction of those talks. We also know that we have benefited from participating in a rules-based trading system, where right, not might, is the basis for resolving disputes. And we intend to remain at the forefront of trade liberalization around the globe.

There can be no doubt that we live in exciting times. Around the world, trade barriers are falling down, opportunities are opening up, and the possibilities for Canadians to create better lives for themselves and for their children are greater than at any time in our history.

Technology is collapsing distances, and there is an ever smaller distinction between international and domestic markets. We are able both to buy from and sell into markets that had previously been closed to us.

For a trading nation such as ours, these developments are to be welcomed. Last year, Canada posted a record \$323 billion in exports. That success in international markets is important because more than 40 percent of Canada's GDP [gross domestic product] is generated by trade, and one in three jobs in this country is tied to our ability to sell our goods and services abroad.

One of the areas that holds the most promise is Latin America and the Caribbean. And as chair of the FTAA negotiations, Canada is positioned as a leading player in one of the world's most dynamic regions.

When the FTAA negotiations are concluded in 2005, the FTAA will be the world's largest free trade region, with a population of 800 million and a combined GDP of \$9 trillion. Canadians are already realizing the opportunities that this region provides: in the past five years, two-way trade between Canada and the Americas has doubled — and our investment in the region has tripled!

Canada intends to strengthen its ties with this vibrant market, and I am very much looking forward to hosting the next meeting of the hemispheric trade ministers in Toronto, November 3 and 4, immediately following the Americas Business Forum on November 1 and 2. And I am pleased that Kent Jespersen, Chairman of La Jolla Resources International, based in Calgary, has been appointed chair of that forum.

Certainly, no one understands the possibilities and the opportunities afforded by international trade better than Albertans. Almost a third of this province's GDP is generated by exports. And last year, the value of those exports stood at more than \$30 billion.

To be sure, the course of trade liberalization does not always run smoothly, and when American farmers blockaded the border, we were pleased to defend the interests of Alberta's farmers by working at the highest levels to resolve the impasse. And I can assure you that we will remain vigilant on their behalf.

The fact is that the federal government and the Alberta government see eye to eye on trade, and I value the support that Premier Ralph Klein has given to our efforts to open markets and expand opportunities for Canadians.

As you know, the Premier was part of the Team Canada Trade Mission to Latin America, and while there pursued new opportunities for partnerships with Mexico in the energy sector. This relationship was furthered by the Premier's mission to Mexico in January, and I understand that he will be hosting "Energy Mexico 99," right here in Calgary, next month.

There were also a number of Calgary companies on my recent trade mission to the Middle East, including the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology, Petro Staff International and EFA Software Services Ltd. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade [DFAIT] has also enjoyed working with Alberta Economic Development on a new Web site devoted to oil and gas services and equipment.

So the opportunities presented by international trade are clearly at the forefront of this province's thinking. On a national level, polls tell us that about two-thirds of Canadians support freer trade.

But the point is that our country has discovered that we have far more to gain from trade liberalization than to fear from it. And we have clearly established ourselves as a trading powerhouse in the world.

At the same time, globalization presents new challenges for policy makers and business people alike. One of the challenges we face is the changing nature of trade negotiations themselves. Let me explain what I mean by that.

It used to be that trade negotiations dealt primarily with things like tariffs and other so-called border issues that prevented the products of one country from entering another. But today, with many of the tariff issues resolved, the focus has shifted to other issues that could impede trade — such as standards, licensing and approval procedures; product and professional certifications; and, more broadly, the regulatory framework.

All of these areas have traditionally been the purview of individual states. So too have environmental policy, social and cultural policies, and competition and investment policies.

Now, these are increasingly linked as trade issues, and discussed in such forums as the WTO.

The fact is that our participation in the world economy — through our trade agenda — has now become an integral part of our domestic political agenda of jobs, growth, security and social programs. And just as all politics is local, so too is trade.

As trade negotiations expand and touch more directly on the daily lives of Canadians, it is more important than ever that we consult the people who are affected. Secrecy serves no one, and the days of negotiating behind closed doors are over.

Indeed, in order to build public support and understanding for international trade, I believe we need to do three things, both internationally and at home:

- First, we need to make the whole process more transparent. Canadians want their governments, and international institutions, to be more open and accountable. As we construct the framework for the global economy, we must ensure that there are no back rooms.
- Second, we need to be more responsive. When Canadians express their concerns — whether over labour standards or human rights, or a perceived loss of sovereignty — we cannot dismiss them as overreactions of the uninformed. We need to address these concerns head on, and present Canadians with the facts.
- Third, and related to the other points, we need to be more inclusive. We cannot continue to carry on discussions about trade and globalization over the heads of



the people. The changes we introduce are felt by individuals — and if history teaches us anything, it is the importance of building a strong consensus on issues that affect our people so directly.

That is why I am so excited by the consultations that we have recently begun with Canadians on our overall trade agenda. Just a few weeks ago, we posted a notice in the *Canada Gazette* inviting all Canadians to express their views on this challenging new trade agenda. Soon, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, as well as the Sub-Committee on International Trade, will fan out across the country, providing Canadians with an opportunity for input on both the WTO and FTAA trade agendas.

Similar hearings are already going on with respect to agricultural issues, and they have been very successful in identifying concerns and anticipating problems.

In order to make it as easy as possible to communicate with the government, we will be using the DFAIT Web site to post information on the issues being negotiated, including the papers that Canada is tabling at the WTO and in the FTAA negotiations, as well as to receive Canadians' input on the progress we are making.

These efforts are being made with a single goal in mind: to provide an opportunity for input from all elements of our society. Quite frankly, we have a good idea of what's being said in the nation's boardrooms — we need to hear what's being said in the nation's living rooms.

So I hope that your Chambers will participate in that process.

You know, I believe that part of the reason for some of the concerns with trade liberalization is the singular failure of those of us in government — and those of you in the private sector — to explain the benefits of freer trade and to encourage participation in it.

To those with genuine concerns about the impact of freer trade, we need to offer not vague reassurances, but specific examples. We need to show that international trade isn't something that happens "out there" to other people — it is something that takes place in communities just like Calgary, and it is bringing real benefits to the businesses you represent.

This morning I met with a number of CEOs from Western Canada to discuss their role in the FTAA process, and I am here today to ask for your help — to demonstrate the benefits of trade liberalization and to bring to all parts of the country the kind of prosperity that you enjoy here in Calgary.

Let's make that case. Let's engage Canadians as never before. Let's open up the process and listen carefully to what they have to say. If we do, I am confident that we

can both allay their concerns and enlist their support for a trade agenda that reflects their real priorities.

I know many of you continue to be bullish on Latin America, despite some of the challenging economic currents. This is really a time for long-term thinking and commitment.

It is my firm belief that freer trade has the potential to enrich this country beyond our imagination. By pursuing trade liberalization, we can provide Canadians with rewards for their labour, markets for their products and hope for their futures.

But while freer trade may be an idea whose time has come, it is not an idea whose success is assured. There is nothing predestined about its success, and we need to continue to work hard to ensure that its benefits are fully realized and widely shared.

I hope that in these efforts all of you will continue to add your voice and play your part.

Thank you.



# Statement

---

www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca

99/22

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE  
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS  
ROUNDTABLE ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 17, 1999  
(12:45 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





As many of you are aware, Canada has been reshaping its foreign policy to reflect the increasing human dimension of global peace and security. Many of the challenges we face as a global community, from violent conflict to newer threats — illicit drugs, terrorism or environmental degradation — have a more direct impact on the daily lives of ordinary people. Human security is providing both the focus and the impetus for global action. As a result, Canada has been taking a more human-centred approach to global relations in the initiatives we take, the themes we pursue and the methods we use.

Human rights are the cornerstone of human security. Promoting full respect for human rights and dignity is fundamental to a foreign policy that aims to focus on the welfare of people as well as states.

Freedom of religion is a basic human right. It has a central place in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is an enduring concern of global human rights organizations — governmental and non-governmental. It figures prominently in national human rights laws and provisions around the world. However defined, it is recognized as a fundamental human value requiring close attention.

For good reason. An individual's faith goes to the core of that person's beliefs and identity. A society's respect for religious expression is a measure of its commitment to tolerance and a yardstick of its capacity to accommodate difference. Religious intolerance, on the other hand, has been and is a source of conflict, violence and human suffering.

As a result, protecting and advancing freedom of religion is an intrinsic part of Canada's human security agenda. And in our changing global context, this is more rather than less urgent. The demise of Cold War constraints and the emergence of globalization has had its positive sides. But the new global reality also has a darker side, creating new stresses — political, economic and social.

Some individuals and groups have responded by retreating to more traditional, sometimes extreme, values to assert their identities. In some cases, leaders have preyed on the fears of an uncertain time, inciting or sanctioning hatred to promote their own ambitions. In other situations, a more transparent global environment has served to highlight or sharpen long-standing prejudice and oppression.

In these circumstances, freedom of religion is particularly vulnerable. Abuses of religious beliefs occur in a variety of ways, from random acts of violence, to quasi-official persecution, to entrenched, state-sanctioned prejudice.

The result is a global situation in which religious tension, persecution and oppression are a continuing if not growing concern, manifesting themselves in different forms including in Afghanistan, Belarus, China, Cuba, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Russia and Vietnam. The specific situations you will consider today — Sudan, Iran and Tibet — are also troubling, each for unique reasons.

However, challenges to freedom of religion wherever they happen cannot go unanswered. Canadians need to be involved in responding — as a way to project our values and advance our interests.

Efforts to promote religious tolerance abroad reflect our experience at home. The same capacity for tolerance, accommodation, negotiation and goodwill that we have used to build a united, multicultural — and multifaith — country can and should be applied internationally. While we seek to project these values elsewhere, we must remain vigilant about the impact of religious extremism in our own midst and constantly work toward greater religious understanding at home.

Advancing religious freedom also serves our national interests. Religious intolerance can and has led to uncertainty and violent conflict. As a result, it can affect our prosperity, which depends on global and regional stability. It can cost us directly through the funds Canadians devote to humanitarian and other aid to victims of conflict in which religious persecution plays a part or is used as an instrument of war — in Sudan, for example, the conflict has cost Canada \$1 million a month. It can increase the risks to our own security if it involves terrorism or if it spills over onto our own shores.

Canada therefore needs to be engaged — and we have been, in multilateral and bilateral forums.

At the United Nations, we have strongly backed the activities of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Question of Religious Intolerance. Canada was a key proponent of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. We have worked vigorously to promote the implementation of its objectives. Canada has been an active co-sponsor of resolutions opposing religious intolerance at both the UN General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights.

We have also been working bilaterally and with civil society to use religious dialogue as a tool for reconciliation. As a follow-up to the Oslo Interfaith Declaration, Canada and Norway are exploring an initiative involving the Canadian Council of Churches and their Norwegian counterparts aimed at building a broad-based international civil society coalition to advance freedom of religion.

Freedom of religion is also part of the agenda in our bilateral human rights dialogues with China and Cuba. We are working hard to foster dialogue between Chinese and Canadian civil society groups in this area. In Cuba, the recent progress made by the Catholic Church results in no small part from the emphasis Canada and other countries have put on this issue. As part of our efforts to expand contacts with Iran, Canadian parliamentarians raised the issue of religious freedom during a visit there last month.



In many ways our approach is still a work in progress. As we look to the future and to developing our ideas and activities further, we will focus our efforts in the following areas:

1. **Reinforcing existing mechanisms.** To a certain extent, we already have many of the instruments we require to move forward. What we now need is to make them work better.

Multilaterally, Canada will carry on efforts at the UN while expanding our efforts, where appropriate, in other organizations in which we participate. The OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] is promising in that regard. We will support further reflection and initiate concrete actions to engage a multifaith dialogue in the OSCE region. To that end, the OSCE Advisory Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion has an important role to play. Canada will participate at an OSCE seminar on the subject in Vienna on March 22 to consider next steps.

We will also continue to pursue our bilateral efforts. To that end, I am pleased to note that China has indicated its willingness to host a visit by a Canadian delegation to engage in a dialogue on issues of religious freedom. Member churches of the Canadian Council of Churches, in conjunction with their Chinese partners, are discussing options for such a continued dialogue.

2. **Using information technology.** From Bosnia to Burma, the information superhighway is making it possible to advance human rights objectives.

Last fall, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade [DFAIT] organized an NGO [non-governmental organization] forum on the Internet and human rights. We are turning our attention now to how information technology, as well as improved networking, better reporting and enhanced information gathering, can all be developed and used more specifically as instruments to promote religious freedom. I am pleased to announce today that DFAIT is prepared to devote resources for this purpose. I would welcome your ideas about how we can work in partnership to that end.

3. **Involving and mobilizing Canadians.** The engagement of Canadians and Canadian civil society is essential in promoting religious tolerance around the world.

The advice and views from individuals and groups such as yourselves will be important in determining the government's priorities. To that end, many of you participated in a roundtable discussion on freedom of religion and religious intolerance organized two weeks ago by DFAIT. You are meeting today under the auspices of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development for



further reflection. The recommendations made two weeks ago and your discussions today will be helpful in moving forward.

Religious beliefs are ultimately an intensely personal matter. Consequently, while governments have a role in promoting religious freedom abroad, this responsibility must be shared by individuals, NGOs and religious groups. Working through and mobilizing interest in our own parishes, temples and mosques, I am convinced that we can all make a contribution to advancing religious freedom beyond our borders. I would be interested to hear from you how we might work together in pursuing this objective.

The promotion of religious freedom is integral to full respect for human rights. Human rights are in turn the foundation for human security. Consequently, in pursuing our human security agenda, we must be engaged in fighting religious intolerance. I have outlined some of the ways we are doing this and the direction we intend to take. I look forward to hearing the conclusions of your discussions.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/23

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR A SPEECH BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
ON THE CONFLICT IN KOSOVO**

**OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 24, 1999  
(4:10 p.m. EST)**



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



The international community today is facing a situation in the heart of Europe, where a government is denying the most basic rights to its people, using disproportionate force to quell dissidence, sending tanks and artillery to destroy villages, taking the lives of innocent civilians, and forcing hundreds of thousands of people out of their homes and into the cold.

For 10 years, now, the world has witnessed the tragedy unfolding in the Balkans. First it was Slovenia, then Croatia and then Bosnia. In the last year, the same pattern of disproportionate violence against civilians from a targeted ethnic group has appeared in Kosovo.

### **International efforts: UN, OSCE, Rambouillet**

The international community has spared no effort to encourage the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] to find a peaceful arrangement with its Albanian Kosovar population. Scores of diplomatic missions were sent to Belgrade and the United Nations Security Council [UNSC], acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, issued crucial resolutions that identified the conflict as a threat to peace and security in the region.

Resolutions 1199 and 1203, and the October agreements between the FRY and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE] and NATO, impose a clear legal obligation on the FRY to respect a cease-fire, protect the civilian population and limit the deployment of its security forces in Kosovo.

In October, a verification mission under the OSCE was created. Its purpose was not only to monitor the cease-fire but also to build confidence.

Finally, the parties were called to an international peace conference in Rambouillet, where they were asked to give up their maximalist positions and accept an honourable compromise for peace. The Kosovars demonstrated courage and vision by signing the agreement. Only the Yugoslav President held out and refused to depart from his intransigence.

### **Canada's actions**

Canada has continually pushed for the strongest possible UNSC engagement in the Kosovo issue. During the summer and fall, I instructed Canadian diplomats to urge the UNSC to take action on Kosovo, consistent with the mandate and duty of the Council. As President of the Council in February, our Ambassador chaired many meetings on the situation. We have supported the peace negotiations in Rambouillet. We have been an active participant in the efforts of the OSCE to monitor a cease-fire, engage the parties in dialogue and build confidence.

In March and June 1998, I had announced measures to prompt the FRY to resolve the Kosovo issue: suspension of EDC [Export Development Corporation] credits to



the FRY; suspension of discussions on JAT [Yugoslav Airlines] landing rights; suspension of discussions on other bilateral agreements; a ban on investments in Serbia; and a freeze of the assets of the Serbian and FRY governments in Canada. Some of these measures were imposed under the Special Economic Measures Act (SEMA) following a decision of the G-8.

We have also supported the efforts of the international humanitarian agencies. CIDA [the Canadian International Development Agency] has to date disbursed \$3.18 million to provide for basic necessities such as food, water, shelter and medical supplies, as follows:

- UNICEF Preparedness for Kosovo (\$430 000);
- High Commissioner for Refugees (\$1.2 million);
- World Food Program (\$300 000);
- Red Cross (\$900 000); and
- CARE Canada (\$350 000).

### **Failure of efforts, humanitarian disaster**

Unfortunately, the diplomatic efforts of the international community did not ultimately succeed. The looming humanitarian disaster caused by the refusal of President Milosevic to accept any peaceful compromise leaves us with very few options. Every day the situation gets worse, and it is the civilian population who suffers. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), over 450 000 people have been displaced by the conflict in Kosovo, including over 260 000 within Kosovo itself. Since March 20, it is estimated that over 25 000 persons were displaced.

As long as it remains unresolved, the conflict in Kosovo threatens to precipitate a humanitarian disaster and destabilize the entire region.

### **NATO action, objectives, protection of Canadians**

Our preference has always been for a diplomatic solution and the diplomatic track has been given every chance to succeed. The continuing oppression in Kosovo by the FRY government, armed forces and police, continuing failure on the part of the Milosevic government to implement the agreements it has made with the OSCE and NATO, and its continuing refusal to act in compliance with the requirements of successive UN Security Council resolutions — developments that have contributed to an increase in tension and are creating a major humanitarian crisis — leave NATO with no choice but to take action.

NATO is ready to act and Canada is ready to participate. The Canadian Forces have six CF-18 aircraft in the region, prepared to contribute to NATO operations.

NATO's objectives are, first, to avert a humanitarian crisis by enforcing compliance with FRY's obligations, including respect for a cease-fire, an end to violence against the civilian population and full observance of limits on FRY security forces as agreed on October 25, 1998, and also to pressure the FRY to sign a peace agreement on Kosovo.

While NATO was preparing for action, we made sure that Canadians living in the FRY were well aware of the situation. All the members of the KVM [Kosovo Verification Mission] have safely left the FRY. So have the Canadian staff of our Embassy in Belgrade, which has temporarily suspended its operations. Before his departure, the Canadian Ambassador was constantly in touch with the Canadians registered with the Embassy. We have advised Canadians to defer all travel to the FRY and those in the country to leave immediately by the safest means possible.

### **Kosovo and Canadian foreign policy: meaning of Kosovo for Canada**

Humanitarian considerations are the main impulse for our action. We cannot stand by while an entire population is displaced, people are killed, villages are burned and looted, and a population is denied its basic rights because it does not belong to the "right" ethnic group. We remain very concerned about potential atrocities. Those responsible for any action against civilians should be aware that they will be held accountable.

Kosovo embodies many aspects of Canada's view of the world. We want a world where rights are respected, a world where peaceful solutions to regional conflicts are negotiated, a world where war criminals do not act in impunity, a world free of landmines. We want to consolidate the multilateral system, which was created to make the world better, in institutions such as the United Nations, the OSCE and NATO.

Thank you.





International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/24

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE  
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF BUSINESS ECONOMICS'  
1999 POLICY CONFERENCE

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 25, 1999  
(2:00 p.m. EST)







Whenever I have the opportunity to meet with economists, I always think of a quotation from Henry Kissinger. "It used to be said," Kissinger wrote, "that my knowledge of economics was an argument against universal suffrage. And I tended to believe that until I started dealing with economists."

In some ways, I think "the dismal science" just suffers from bad public relations. John Maynard Keynes had the right idea when he said that "If economists could manage to get themselves thought of as humble, competent people, on a level with dentists, that would be splendid."

Of course, the same can be said of politicians! So as one humble, competent, dentist-like professional to another, let me say how pleased I am to be with you this evening!

The theme of your conference this year could not be more appropriate. Canada in the Global Economy is not only a catchy title — it is also an undeniable fact. Because we are in the global economy; we are connected to international markets as never before, and we must participate in the international institutions that seek to bring rules and order to international commerce.

One of the key requirements for success in the global economy is access to vital markets. And I am pleased to release *Opening Doors to the World: Canada's International Market Access Priorities — 1999* this evening. This report highlights the major initiatives we have pursued over the past year in terms of access, while outlining our priorities and challenges for the year ahead.

Tonight, I would like to focus on another aspect of Canada's involvement in the global economy, and that's the upcoming round of negotiations at the World Trade Organization [WTO]. And I would like to do so from four perspectives.

First, it is important to recognize where the international community is coming from.

As you know, the Uruguay Round of negotiations, completed in December, 1993, greatly strengthened the international trading system by expanding the rules of the game and by providing for effective mechanisms to resolve disputes.

Canada has benefited from those results: first, because we are so dependent upon trade, and second, because of the benefits of operating within a rules-based system where might does not equal right.

The importance of trade to our economy can hardly be overstated. More than 40 percent of Canada's GDP is generated by trade, and one in three jobs in this country is tied to our ability to sell our goods and services abroad.

This is something that we need to stress. For trade is not an abstraction. It is not something that happens out there, somewhere. It produces real jobs for real people and is happening locally, in our communities and in our neighbourhoods.

But while the Uruguay Round was significant and produced many real benefits for Canada, many issues remain unresolved, and these issues provide the agenda for the next round.

Second, it is important to remember that, when we export our goods and services, we must continue to export our values.

It has always been Canada's position that the global economy must be a humane place where good government, democracy and the rule of law ensure that the benefits of trade liberalization are shared among all levels of society.

If we simply pursue markets without concern for the citizens within those markets, then we are destined to fail. More, we deserve to fail.

And if we do not temper our push for progress without due consideration for the environment, we will be like the person who constructs a new foundation for their house by borrowing material from the roof: we will simply have achieved today's objectives at the expense of tomorrow's opportunities.

Third, we need to recognize that trade is not just an international abstraction.

Former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Tip O'Neil, used to say that all politics is local, meaning that all issues needed to be understood on the basis of how they will affect the daily lives of his constituents.

Well, the same can now be said of trade. All trade is local — it provides jobs and opportunities, not just for people around the globe, but also for our neighbours and our friends in communities and industrial parks across our nation.

And the issues addressed in trade negotiations are also increasingly local in nature.

As you know, trade negotiations no longer deal primarily with things like tariffs and other so-called border issues that prevent the products of one country from entering another.

Today, with many of the tariff issues resolved, the focus has shifted to other impediments to trade, such as standards, licensing and approval procedures, product and professional certifications and, more broadly, the regulatory framework.

All of these areas had been the purview of individual states. Now, they are increasingly linked as part of the trade spectrum and discussed in fora such as the WTO.

The fact is that our participation in the world economy — through our trade agenda — has now become an integral part of our domestic political agenda of jobs, growth, security and social programs.

Our domestic policy, then, is intertwined with our foreign and trade policies. On a growing number of issues, they are one and the same.

It is more important than ever, therefore, that the people affected be the people consulted.

The days of negotiating in secret are over, and we need to lift the veil on the whole trade negotiating process.

If we are to enlist the public's support for further trade liberalization, I believe that we need to make the whole process more transparent. Canadians want their governments and international institutions to be more open and accountable.

That is why our government has recently launched a series of national consultations with Canadians on our overall trade agenda. And I hope that many of you will participate in that process.

Fourth and finally, we come to the need for a new round of negotiations.

Now, I know that with all of the progress we have made, it may be tempting to pause, consolidate or take a breather. But while it would be tempting, it would also be a mistake.

Not only did the Uruguay round leave many stones unturned, but we also have to ensure that the rules of trade themselves keep pace with the changes taking place in business practices, technology and social systems. We cannot proceed into the next millennium with rules that don't reflect the new realities.

We also need to find ways to advance participation in the global economy by less-developed countries.

And, as recent international economic upheaval has shown, no nation can restore growth solely through its own domestic market. Trade holds the potential to help solve these problems, and so we need to extend its reach.



Moreover, we need further trade negotiations if we are to make the trading system truly universal by including in the WTO such major economies as Russia, China, Chinese Taipei, Ukraine and Saudi Arabia.

In terms of the form these talks should take, Canada's position is that flexibility should be our watchword. As you know, some would like to see a comprehensive seven-year round, while others favour tackling issues on a sector-by-sector basis.

Our view is that both options carry their own difficulties.

The comprehensive approach, in trying to encompass so many divergent issues and interests, can become unwieldy and exhausting. And its dynamic of all-or-nothing leaves little room for honest differences to remain off the table.

The sector-by-sector approach, on the other hand, leaves itself open to countries simply cherry-picking those sectors that work to their advantage. Such a mercenary approach does not indicate great confidence in the WTO or in its ability to create widespread agreement.

That is why we have suggested dealing with clusters of sectors. This will make for a more manageable, digestible and timely approach that has something for everyone.

As progress is made in these clusters, agreements could be implemented, thus detaching them from other areas where progress could be slower or more difficult to obtain.

This would produce an early harvest of agreements and provide momentum at a crucial time.

And I am pleased to say that this approach appears to be meeting with increasing consensus.

In terms of the content of the negotiations, our view is that the negotiations should be broadly-based, both to attract support and to satisfy a wide range of interests.

Ideally, this means that negotiations will extend beyond this year's mandated areas of agriculture and services. Governments might consider the following areas:

- further reductions to tariffs on industrial goods, including the possible elimination of so-called nuisance tariffs — those below two percent;
- addressing non-tariff barriers, including issues dealing with standards, customs valuations and rules of origin;

- curbing the abuse of anti-dumping, countervailing duties and safeguard actions, including how such measures might apply to services;
- bringing services and agricultural trade more fully under the rules, including eliminating all export subsidies and advancing the liberalization of these sectors, with a particular emphasis on commercial services;
- exploring new issues, such as intellectual property, electronic commerce, transparency in government procurement, investment and competition policy, as well as culture, environment and labour;
- and finally, ensuring that governments retain the ability to regulate for reasons of public health, consumer safety, social policy or other legitimate public interests.

I began by quoting one famous economist, John Maynard Keynes, so let me close by quoting another — John Kenneth Galbraith. Galbraith once said that “Economics is not durable truth; it requires continuing revision and accommodation. Nearly all of its error is from those who cannot change.”

Of course, the imperative to change is not limited to economics or to economists. All of us must adapt to the new realities before us.

And Canada is doing just that. We are embracing the opportunities afforded by liberalized trade and positioning ourselves to win in a competitive new era.

We must continue down that path and bring the benefits of freer trade to all Canadians.

In those efforts, I look forward to receiving your input and ideas, and I wish you all the best for a very successful conference.

Thank you.



# Statement

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/25

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE  
CANADIAN COMMISSION FOR UNESCO  
ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 26, 1999  
(1:30 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





"Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace must be constructed." Over a half-century has passed since these familiar words were inscribed in the constitution of UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization].

Promoting global peace and security through the well-being of the individual remains at the heart of what UNESCO represents. Since its inception, UNESCO has worked from the premise that peace cannot rest simply on political and economic accords between governments, but must be based on the intellectual and moral solidarity of humankind.

In the modern information age, the heart and soul of UNESCO's mission — peace through science, education and culture and communications — remains as relevant and as attainable as ever.

The tools now at our disposal — the Internet, satellites, telecommunications — are tailor-made for this purpose. Used positively, these technologies can build new links and create new bridges for understanding while breaking down traditional barriers that lead to mistrust, prejudice and conflict. We have an unprecedented opportunity to reach the minds of all people and to make real progress in constructing peace as envisaged by UNESCO's founders.

The concept of building a culture of peace — adopted as the leitmotif for UNESCO's activities — is therefore a logical, timely and welcome development.

The objectives behind this concept — "universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance for human rights and equality" — will sound familiar to those who have followed the evolution of human security in Canada's foreign policy.

I am very pleased, therefore, to have the opportunity to speak to you today about the human security agenda and to comment on the links between human security, the concept of the culture of peace, and Canada's participation in UNESCO.

UNESCO's culture of peace (an idea originating in Africa in 1989) and the human security agenda share the same beginning: the end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization. Together these events have precipitated a dramatic transformation in the international environment. Notwithstanding the uncertainties, one truth has emerged with considerable clarity: global peace — how it is defined, how it is threatened, how it is pursued — is increasingly conditioned by the security of individuals.

Armed conflict remains, as always, the most immediate threat to stability. However, its most prominent feature now is its human cost.

Civilians are overwhelmingly the victims, targets and instruments. They are the losers from the rise in intrastate conflict or failed states, which in some cases allow for the emergence of modern day warlords. They bear the brunt of the new practices of war — for example, the deplorable use of child soldiers. And they carry scars from the inexpensive and all-too-readily-available weapons of modern war, such as landmines and military small arms and light weapons.

Civilians also pay a heavy price through the abuse of information and the misuse of the means of communication. And the toll can be staggering. In Rwanda, radio broadcasts were used to incite ethnic hatred, directly contributing to the genocide. In the Balkans, state-controlled media has been misused as an instrument to prey on traditional fears, to foment prejudice, to reinforce stereotypes and to promote extreme and exclusionary nationalism — the results of which we have all been tragically witness to.

This civilianization of conflict has led to human tragedies of devastating proportions and brutality: the exploitation of civilians, massive refugee flows and the grossest violations of human rights and humanitarian law, including genocide.

At the same time, it is these human tragedies that increasingly seize our attention and serve as the impetus for global action. The crisis in Kosovo is a stark example. It is the humanitarian crisis there — the plight of thousands of innocent civilians, deprived of their livelihood and chased from their homes, with many hundreds beaten and massacred — that demands a response from the international community and that has precipitated NATO action this week.

Alongside violent conflict, there are a number of less traditional threats, multifaceted threats — the darker side of globalization — that also put human security directly at risk. They include environmental degradation, illicit drug production and trafficking, and terrorism. The information superhighway for all its potential for good has also been used for evil — to transmit hate speech and propaganda or to promote child pornography and prostitution.

The impact of these threats on ordinary lives — on all our lives — is very real. In a wired world of instantaneous communication, rapid transportation and increasingly porous borders, our lives are interconnected as never before. The security or insecurity of others is very much our own security or insecurity.

Human security is thus a new ground zero for concerted global action. If we are serious about global peace and security, we must take human security seriously. That is why human security has become a central element in Canada's foreign policy — in the initiatives we take, the themes we promote, the partnerships we pursue both new and old, and the methods we use — soft and hard power.



At its core, the human security agenda is an effort to construct a global society in which the safety and well-being of the individual is an international priority and a motivating force for international action, a society in which international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced, woven into a coherent web protecting the individual, where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable and, finally, a society in which our global, regional and bilateral institutions — present and future — are built and equipped to promote and enforce these standards.

In short, the aim is to develop a culture of human rights, very close in fact to the goals of the culture of peace. An ambitious agenda certainly, but not necessarily unrealistic. The human-centred approach to our foreign policy has in fact produced concrete results in responding to the new global realities.

Last summer, the international community adopted the Statute of the International Criminal Court. This milestone achievement will help to deter some of the most egregious breaches of international humanitarian law. It breaks new ground in addressing the particular plight of women and children. It creates new binding standards of human behaviour that are a guide for the future.

Last month, at Canada's initiative, the United Nations Security Council examined the need to protect civilians in armed conflict. This is part of our effort to integrate human security issues into the Council's activities. As a result, Secretary-General Annan is producing a concrete list of recommendations on how the Council can act more effectively.

This month, Nigerians went to the polls to elect the first democratic government in 20 years. Canadians can take some satisfaction in this development. With our Commonwealth partners, Canada was in the forefront of efforts to bring democracy back to Africa's most populous country. In Algeria, Bosnia, Cambodia, Guatemala and around the globe, through our peacebuilding initiative Canada is supporting efforts to strengthen democracy and reconstruct societies and lives damaged by war.

This month also, the Ottawa Convention banning the production, use and stockpiling of anti-personnel mines became part of international law. Canadians and people around the world rightly celebrated this achievement. We are not "home free," but the results are indisputable: 14.5 million stockpiled mines have been destroyed, there has been a dramatic slowdown in international trade in these weapons, and close to 100 new mine action projects have been launched in 25 countries.

We have also been using culture and education in new ways and taking advantage of the information technologies that I mentioned earlier to move human security forward. For example, the Cultural Initiatives for War-Affected Children Program — launched last July — is aimed at helping children traumatized by conflict and raising awareness about their situation by promoting cultural activities at the international level.



The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's human rights Web site including *For the Record: The United Nations Human Rights System* — a unique compilation of the work of the United Nations human rights system — uses the Internet to serve the needs of human rights defenders and citizens interested in human rights.

Through the Canadian Youth International Internship program, young Canadians are helping human rights NGOs around the world to use technology better. Through our peacebuilding initiative, we have helped legislators in South Africa use teleconferencing to build their democracy. At UNESCO, we are examining ways to stop child pornography on the Net.

All of these achievements reflect progress in creating a culture of peace and promoting human security — by all accounts, this is an approach firmly supported by Canadians.

We have never been more self-confident about our place in the world. Eighty percent of Canadians believe that Canada has more influence today than 30 years ago. Over 64 percent of Canadians feel prouder about our international role now than 5 years ago, and 68 percent rate foreign policy as a top priority for the Government of Canada.

This is perhaps because the human security agenda is one that promotes Canadian interests while projecting Canadian values:

- Canadians are perhaps the most travelled people anywhere, which means that we are also vulnerable.
- Canada's economy depends in large measure on global trade and investments, which means that our prosperity is susceptible to international instability.
- Canada is an open society with a vast geography, which means that we are exposed to the dangers of terrorism, illicit drugs and international crime.
- Canadians are donors, which means that we devote significant resources to assisting the victims of conflicts far from our shores.

It is therefore indisputably in Canadians' interest to be engaged in the search for solutions promoting the security of individuals elsewhere. We do so in order to establish a more secure, receptive, less expensive, cleaner and healthier world in which Canadians can prosper.

However, the human security agenda is more than enlightened self-interest. It is an approach to the world that also very much reflects Canadian values and experience.

It is a direct expression of how the Canadian talents of accommodation, negotiation and goodwill seeking to overcome differences — leading to a unified, tolerant Canada — have application and use internationally.

It reflects the principles that Canadians have used to build our country: the rule of law, democracy, respect for civil society and tolerance of differences.

It is the projection on the world stage of a history and tradition that have allowed Canadians to build a unique, dynamic society where our diverse cultural heritage has not only been protected but has flourished and celebrated both at home and abroad.

Canada's participation in UNESCO not only demonstrates these interests and values in action; it shows how they serve all Canadians. By definition, the issues UNESCO addresses — science, education and culture — require wide consultation and co-operation among Canadians at the federal and provincial levels. Civil society — the artistic, academic and scientific community — has a unique role to play as well. It is a process that reflects our diversity and one that I personally welcome and appreciate.

That is why the Canadian Commission for UNESCO — this Assembly and its work — is central to Canada's commitment to the Organization and its programs. Unique in composition and role, it provides guidance and recommendations on the direction of Canada's activity at UNESCO.

That is why Canada's delegation at UNESCO, including our current Ambassador Jacques Demers, maintains such close, active contacts at all levels of government and throughout Canadian society. Indeed, Ambassador Demers has recently undertaken visits to all the provinces and territories to consult on UNESCO-related issues.

That is why Canadian delegations to UNESCO conferences are sometimes led by provincial officials. This was the case last year when British Columbia's Minister of Advanced Education, Training and Technology headed Canada's delegation to the UNESCO Conference on Higher Education in Paris. It was the case in 1997 when Quebec's Minister of Education did the same at the UNESCO Conference on Adult Education in Hamburg.

That is why, in light of provincial jurisdiction, for example, in the areas of culture and education, every effort is made to consult, co-operate with and invite Canadian provinces to join — and indeed even lead — Canada's representation at relevant UNESCO meetings and conferences. This co-operation reflects an extensive network



of mechanisms for federal-provincial consultation. Almost no day passes without a meeting taking place at which federal and provincial representatives discuss and work out common Canadian approaches on various international matters.

But the fact is that at UNESCO, only sovereign states can be members. This is not a Canadian invention. All UNESCO member states, including federal states in a situation similar to Canada's, respect this. And regardless of who intervenes, for example, on behalf of Spain, Belgium and Germany, they do so in that country's name; likewise Canadians from all provinces and territories have, should and will continue to do no more or less.

This flexible, consultative way in which we approach our representation may be a creature of necessity and indeed is not without its challenges. It is nevertheless the hallmark of Canada's pragmatic involvement in UNESCO.

And it has worked in all our interests. At UNESCO as elsewhere, speaking with a united Canadian voice has enhanced, not diminished, the power and influence of our individual voices, however distinct.

If the way Canada participates at UNESCO reflects the Canadian experience, the Organization's objectives are closely linked to our own goals. There is a strong fit between the concept of the culture of peace and Canada's human security agenda. Both make peace and security their primary objective through the well-being and development of the individual.

In order for UNESCO to put these ideals into action, the Organization must be capable of delivering the goods. For that reason, Canada has been a leader in the Organization's reform process. It is aimed at keeping UNESCO relevant, making it more responsive and giving it the kind of structure and programming it needs to respond to the challenges ahead.

UNESCO has one of the largest budgets of the agencies in the UN system. In co-operation with the UNESCO Secretariat and other delegations, we are working to ensure that these resources are used as effectively and efficiently as possible. There has been good progress to this end and in focussing the Organization's activities — through a more results-based management practice, more coherent follow-up to projects and the beginning of more flexible long-term planning. But more must be done, including greater balance between the three pillars of the Organization.

The year 2000 has been designated by the United Nations as the International Year of the Culture of Peace. The UNESCO General Conference this spring is a turning point in the Organization's history as member states meet to help set the direction for the Organization's future. Your gathering therefore takes on particular importance, and your recommendations this year will be especially pertinent in guiding Canada's

actions. The concurrent exercise by the Canadian Commission to restructure itself to meet those challenges is most welcome

Firmly grounded in our interests and shaped by our values, the human security agenda is a Canadian response to a rapidly changing world. We have made some progress toward creating a society where global peace and human security are synonymous and mutually reinforcing.

I believe this human security agenda finds expression at UNESCO, where it clearly resonates with UNESCO's culture of peace. Looking ahead, I encourage you to consider during the course of your deliberations how we might build on this philosophical connection and use our presence at UNESCO to develop further concrete links.

Thank you.





# Statement

www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca

99/26

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO A JOINT MEETING OF  
THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND  
THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENCE  
AND VETERANS AFFAIRS  
"CANADA AND KOSOVO"

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 31, 1999  
(2:55 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





Let me begin by thanking everyone for returning from their ridings to convene this meeting on this most serious humanitarian crisis that is occurring in Kosovo.

We are all here because we recognize the magnitude and urgency of the crisis and also our need to discuss it today. The standing committees convened today have long been involved in issues relating to the Balkans — in travelling to Bosnia and, on many occasions, in debating and making recommendations to the government on related issues. I feel strongly that it is crucial for parliamentarians, and particularly members of these committees, to remain engaged throughout our involvement in Kosovo, and we will continue to be so as the situation progresses.

Many Canadians are aware that Kosovo is important to Canadians. For 10 years now, we have witnessed in the Balkans actions and attitudes that we had thought and hoped belonged to another age.

This has been happening in the heart of Europe, a continent where most Canadians find their roots and where we have vital interests in the economic, security, cultural and human fields.

Since 1991, when the dissolution of Yugoslavia began to accelerate, the regime of President Milosevic has waged wars against Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. In Bosnia, we intervened militarily to stop a campaign of ethnic cleansing accompanied by massive summary executions, rape and the destruction of entire communities, in violation of all norms of civilized behaviour.

In Kosovo, the Yugoslav regime has engaged in a campaign of brutal repression ever since it unilaterally stripped the province of its autonomy and abolished its local institutions in 1989 and 1990.

In 1998, growing numbers of Albanians began to abandon their pacifist resistance tactics and launched a violent campaign against these repressive measures. This was seen by the Yugoslav regime as justification to enter into a massive and disproportionate campaign of destruction against Albanian citizens of all sexes and ages, including summary executions, destruction of villages and arbitrary detentions.

Canada has become a champion in promoting an international human security regime to protect civilians — one in which human rights are respected, in which regional conflicts are resolved through negotiation and confidence building, and in which war criminals are not allowed to act with impunity. We are also working hard to consolidate the multilateral system that was created to make the world better, through the evolving standards of international law and new rules of behaviour, in institutions such as the United Nations, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] and NATO. The problem of Kosovo presents a challenge to all these important principles.



Our preference has always been for a diplomatic solution to the problem of Kosovo. The diplomatic track has been given every chance to succeed. You all remember the numerous diplomatic missions sent to Belgrade, the UN Security Council resolutions — all violated by the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] — the creation of a major OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission [KVM] and the Rambouillet Conference, which ultimately failed because of the consistent intransigence displayed by President Milosevic.

Only when these efforts had been exhausted did the Allies resort to military action. It was then clear that the FRY was preparing for a military offensive on a scale unseen to that point in Kosovo.

The NATO operation is entering its eighth day. Let me remind you that its objective is to make the Yugoslav government end the savage repression of its own people, to degrade the military machine that supports this brutality, and to prompt Belgrade to sign a peace agreement. The longer Milosevic resists, the more the FRY's infrastructure of repression will be progressively destroyed. Unfortunately, this takes more than a few days.

In recent days, we have seen increasing reports of a growing humanitarian disaster in Kosovo. Yugoslav security forces and paramilitary organizations are reported to be carrying out a campaign of terror and expelling large numbers of Kosovars. They are intensifying their crackdown on opposition figures, and we have growing evidence that they may be implicated in summary executions and other atrocities against civilians.

I spoke yesterday with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata. The UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] estimates that the number of people displaced by the Kosovo conflict exceeds 560 000. An estimated 275 000 are displaced within Kosovo. However, with the ethnic cleansing now being carried out by the Yugoslav forces, it is no longer possible to make an informed guess. The UNHCR has established a "Kosovo cell" in Skopje that continues to monitor the situation, but communication is very difficult.

It is estimated that over 200 000 persons have found refuge in neighbouring countries and regions, including 83 500 in Albania, 25 000 in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 45 000 in Montenegro, 15 000 in Bosnia and 30 000 in Serbia (the vast majority of these are Serbs who have fled the conflict in Kosovo). A disturbing trend in recent days is the appearance of large groups of refugees, nearly all women, children and the elderly, with very few men of military age.

This massive flow of refugees is the most dramatic we've seen since the Second World War. It has implications that reach far beyond the plight of the refugees themselves. Neighbouring countries, such as Macedonia and Albania, are under

tremendous economic pressure as a result of the incoming waves of people seeking refuge from Milosevic. Without adequate support, this pressure threatens to destabilize the countries themselves. I am therefore discussing with my colleagues ways in which we might alleviate the burden on countries in the region — for example, by deferring their international financial obligations and by emphasizing our support for the security of their borders — so that the progress each has made on democratization will not be lost.

Together with our allies, we are dealing with this humanitarian disaster with a three-pronged approach: we are stepping up the military intervention that is now the only obstacle to continued ethnic cleansing; we are increasing our humanitarian assistance; and we are supporting the critical work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia [ICTY].

But before giving you details about our actions, let me answer an unfounded criticism that has been widely conveyed. It is said that NATO action is the cause of the current deterioration of the humanitarian situation.

This criticism has no basis in reality. Ethnic cleansing by the Yugoslav authorities has been going on for months. We have seen well-documented evidence of forced expulsions, destruction of villages and massacres by the security forces in 1998 and in early 1999. The total number of displaced persons and refugees has now reached 560 000; however, 470 000 of those people were already displaced *before* NATO began its airstrikes. This is a clear sign that it is Milosevic's reign of terror, and not NATO action, that is the cause of the humanitarian crisis.

The NATO threat to use force led in October 1998 to the acceptance of a cease-fire, limitations on the deployment of security forces in Kosovo and the creation of the Kosovo Verification Mission. For a while thereafter, violence originating with the army and the police diminished in the presence of hundreds of international verifiers.

However, in the first months of 1999, the situation progressively deteriorated. The FRY was increasingly in breach of its obligations. NATO threats were ignored as the security forces harassed the international verifiers and built up their military deployment far beyond the limits agreed to in writing between the FRY and the OSCE, and far beyond what any defensive posture could have justified. There was clear evidence that the Yugoslavs were preparing for a massive spring offensive. On March 20, the OSCE was forced to evacuate the Verification Mission because of the collapse of the cease-fire and the threat to the Mission members, which had gone beyond acceptable levels. With the departure of the Verification Mission, the Yugoslav forces dramatically stepped up their offensive.

This all happened before NATO began its military intervention. NATO responded to Milosevic's ethnic cleansing. It did not provoke it.



I would also like to address the concern I know a number of you have regarding the lack of Security Council authorization for NATO action in Kosovo. Let me state clearly that our preference would have been to go into Kosovo backed by a strong Council resolution. However, it is evident that certain members of the Council would have vetoed such a resolution. This was made clear last week when the Russians introduced a resolution condemning NATO's action, a resolution that was soundly defeated by a vote of 12 to 3. With such deep divisions in the Council, NATO had no option but to take action on its own to mitigate the humanitarian disaster that was beginning to unfold, and to enforce the international community's demands as outlined in previous Security Council resolutions (1199 and 1203).

However, we have not abandoned our attempts to engage the Security Council on the question of Kosovo. Much water separates us from the Russians on this issue, but we all agree that there is a humanitarian crisis in the region. That is why I will be travelling to New York tomorrow, where I will meet with Secretary-General Kofi Annan and several members of the Council to discuss action the Council might take to address the dire humanitarian situation in the region.

In the meantime, NATO is concentrating its efforts on the Yugoslav machine of repression, and Canada is offering six additional CF-18s for that purpose. The aim is to destroy as quickly as possible the capability of the FRY to repress the people of Kosovo. Unfortunately, there is no quick fix. While we wish that Milosevic would immediately take the steps that would render NATO's action unnecessary, it would have been folly to plan on this basis. We knew from the outset that degrading the FRY's military capacity would take time.

In addition, we are increasing our assistance to the humanitarian organizations providing help to refugees from Kosovo.

The UNHCR has re-assessed its needs in light of the evolving situation on the basis that the number of refugees in the region will eventually total 350 000. It is not able, at this time, to provide an estimate in financial terms of the additional supplies needed to cope with the crisis. However, it has stipulated that the international agencies engaged in providing humanitarian assistance have the following priorities:

- shelter — tents, plastic sheeting, blankets, cots and stoves;
- household items — pots and pans, etc.;
- transport — planes to airlift relief supplies within the region, trucks to transport supplies and equipment, and buses to transport people
- medical supplies — vaccines, sanitation kits and health kits for children.

I and my colleagues, Ministers Marleau and Eggleton, yesterday announced that Canada will contribute \$10 million in humanitarian aid to be distributed by the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Department of National Defence will provide air transport for moving emergency supplies within the region.

We are confident that, with our significant contribution and that of other members of the international community, the needs of the UNHCR will be met. In conjunction with the UNHCR, we will keep the situation under close and constant review in case there is a requirement for further assistance.

The third leg of our action in support of a durable peace in the region is to provide continued support to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and to repeat our warnings to the Yugoslav authorities that they will be held accountable for the crimes taking place in Kosovo. Senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade called in the Yugoslav ambassador on Saturday to deliver a strong message to that effect.

Canada has been a major contributor and supporter of the ICTY since its creation in 1993. We are now looking at ways to facilitate the transmission to the Tribunal of information relevant to possible war crimes charges collected by Canadians working for the Government of Canada in the region.

Of course, the ideal course of action remains diplomacy. A diplomatic approach has always been our preference, but we finally had to resort to military action given the total intransigence and lack of good faith on the part of the leadership of the FRY, and in view of the humanitarian crisis. Prime Minister Primakov of Russia has attempted to broker an agreement. Regrettably, what Milosevic offered to Mr. Primakov was a completely inadequate basis for further diplomacy.

It remains our position that, for NATO to reconsider its current approach to the Kosovo crisis, Mr. Milosevic would need to do the following:

- stop the killing, oppression and ethnic cleansing that is currently under way;
- withdraw all security forces and create an environment allowing Kosovar Albanians to return home; and finally
- agree to negotiate a peace agreement within the Rambouillet framework.

These conditions alone provide the basis for a durable political solution.

In Kosovo, we are facing a most complex situation, which is evolving by the day. With our three-pronged approach — military action, humanitarian assistance and judicial track — and with our openness to consider diplomatic avenues, we are resolutely tackling this issue. However, Kosovo has been a flashpoint for 10 years now, and the roots of the problems go back far into history. We cannot expect an immediate and perfect solution, but we are determined to keep up our efforts.



Lastly, I would like to praise the work of the Canadians who have been playing an extremely important role in the Balkans in recent years. Canadians performed admirably in Bosnia on peacekeeping missions in which they assisted with humanitarian relief, rebuilding democratic institutions and bringing peace to the region. Canadians participated under the OSCE in election supervision in the region and as verifiers in Kosovo. We are proud of the courage and dedication of our men and women who are currently participating in the NATO mission. I am extremely pleased that members of every party in the House have stood up and supported our troops and our attempts to resolve this humanitarian crisis. I think we can all be proud of Canada's role in this dire situation.

Thank you.



International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/29

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB



SAN FRANCISCO, California  
April 8, 1999  
(12:30 p.m. EDT)





Thank you to the Commonwealth Club, the California Council for International Trade, and Women in International Trade of Northern California for sponsoring this luncheon.

It is good to be with you today and to address the Commonwealth Club, which since 1903 has provided such an important venue for ideas to be presented and issues to be debated.

As you know, this year we are celebrating a very important anniversary — the fifth anniversary of the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA]. So today it is fitting to speak briefly about the NAFTA, about its achievements to date and where we go from here.

By any measure, the NAFTA has been a resounding success. Despite dire predictions of “great sucking sounds” of jobs heading south and the shrill voices of protectionism, the NAFTA has confounded its critics, impressed its supporters and enriched the lives of citizens in its three participating countries.

Under the NAFTA, Canada, the United States and Mexico have experienced healthy economic growth and are recording historically low levels of unemployment.

This is a key point: the NAFTA has meant jobs in all three countries. Employment has increased by 20 percent in Mexico, by 7 percent in the United States and by 10 percent in Canada.

Total trade among the three countries has also increased — by 75 percent — to stand now at over US\$500 billion annually.

Besides providing jobs for our people, this growing trade relationship has also helped cushion our economies against the slowdown in Asia and other emerging markets.

In Canada, for example, the increase in our trade with the United States and Mexico has more than offset the decline in our exports to other major markets, such as Japan, and we have emerged in far better shape than we would have without the NAFTA.

I understand that President Clinton made a similar point when he addressed the Commonwealth Club in February: that the United States weathered the Asian storm much better than expected in part because of its increased trade with Mexico.

So the NAFTA has created jobs, stimulated growth and provided some insulation from the storms that have raged abroad.

It has also helped the partners reduce barriers to further trade among us and paved the way for even more commercial activity in the future.



Last year, for example, Canada and the United States eliminated all tariffs covered under the NAFTA, and most of the tariffs between Canada and Mexico will be removed by 2003.

The reduction or elimination of these tariffs is not some abstract achievement — it produces concrete benefits to consumers in all three countries, and it helps stimulate trade and make our economies work more efficiently.

Similarly, the NAFTA has enhanced co-operation among its members to eliminate non-tariff barriers as well. We have come a long way, for example, toward making standards regimes more compatible, and this makes it easier for companies operating in one country to export to another.

More generally, the rules-based trading framework created by the NAFTA has made the conduct of business in North America more predictable and transparent, and this in turn has helped minimize disputes.

When disputes do arise, the NAFTA provides a forum for effective, prompt and impartial resolution.

Trade is not the only beneficiary of the NAFTA; its increased protection for investors has also encouraged investment in all three countries. In fact, the NAFTA partners have invested more than \$380 billion in each other's economies since the Agreement was signed.

As well, the NAFTA agreements on labour and the environment have bolstered co-operation in these important areas and ensured that domestic laws are fully enforced.

These accords have provided eloquent testimony to the proposition that sound environmental practices and the fair treatment of workers can go hand in hand with trade liberalization — indeed, that they must do so.

As a former Minister of the Environment, I know of San Francisco's long-held commitment to environmental issues — indeed, this is the birthplace of the environmental movement — and I know you share my hope that the NAFTA will continue to contribute to an awareness of the relationship between trade and the environment.

In all of these areas — economic activity, job creation, trade and investment — the NAFTA has worked and worked well for its members.

For Canada, the NAFTA has done something else as well: it has ignited the interest of our business community in pursuing opportunities throughout our hemisphere.

Over the past few years, we have worked to extend the benefits of free trade beyond North America. For example, Canada has concluded a free trade agreement with Chile that is modelled very closely on the NAFTA.

And last year, more than 500 companies from across Canada signed up to participate in a major visit to Latin America led by our Prime Minister — the highest participation rate that we have ever seen for such a mission.

We are also chairing the Free Trade Area of the Americas negotiations, designed to create the world's largest free trade area — 34 countries in all — with a population of 800 million and a combined gross domestic product of \$9 trillion.

So the NAFTA has been important not only for the benefits it has brought but also for the precedent it has set and for the desire it has inspired to expand our vision beyond its borders.

One of the most important qualities of the NAFTA is its dynamism. It is not a static agreement with a limited shelf life. Rather, it has created a living, breathing framework for managing current and future priorities in the North American marketplace.

More than 30 committees, working groups and other subsidiary bodies have been established under the NAFTA, not only to oversee the implementation of our commitments but also to facilitate the conduct of business in North America and consider opportunities for further co-operation.

This is not always glamorous work — indeed, it is often very technical. But it is central to the ongoing, day-to-day work that allows the tremendous flow of trade and investment across this continent to run smoothly. And despite what you might hear or read in the media, trade and investment in North America do run smoothly the vast majority of the time.

Beyond the economic sphere, the NAFTA has also helped build a stronger sense of community and shared interests among our three countries, spanning both the economic and social worlds.

While we have achieved much, our work is not done. We must keep our focus firmly on the challenges and opportunities that still lie ahead.

Later this month, I will host the meeting of the NAFTA Commission — the trade ministers from all three countries — in Ottawa. This will be an ideal opportunity not only to celebrate the past five years but, more important, to begin to chart the way forward.

While I will not attempt a full elaboration of what our shared future may hold, let me just quickly note several priority areas for Canada.

First, we must ensure the continued implementation of the NAFTA, with particular attention to the few areas where we have slipped behind in our commitments — cross-border trucking services is one example that comes to mind.

Second, we need to work to ensure greater openness and transparency in the NAFTA institutions. Demystifying the NAFTA, including its dispute settlement processes, would strengthen public confidence in the Agreement. And engaging our respective private sectors and other interested parties would ensure that our work together is as relevant and responsive as possible to those it is intended to serve. We need to remember that, like politics, all trade is local.

Third, we must take a close look at the investment chapter — Chapter 11. We are seeing more and more cases being brought under the investor-state dispute settlement procedures, and this is a good example of where more transparency and openness can be brought to NAFTA procedures.

I believe the public has a right to know when their government is being challenged.

I also want to see whether the NAFTA countries can be more explicit in our common understanding of certain provisions, particularly those related to expropriation and compensation.

We all have our share of imaginative trade lawyers looking for further opportunities. But the original intent of the NAFTA Parties is clear: the rights of investors do not inhibit the sovereign responsibility of governments to legislate and regulate in the public interest.

It is also important to ensure that the NAFTA expropriation provisions are interpreted in a manner consistent with the original intent of the Parties.

Fourth, we need to ensure that the NAFTA keeps up with the rapid technological change taking place — something that those of you in Silicon Valley understand better than most. We need to ensure that new ways of doing business, such as electronic commerce, are fully reflected in the NAFTA and that we do not proceed into the next millennium with rules that don't reflect the new realities.

Fifth, we should reassess areas that either were not fully addressed in the NAFTA or where further progress — or even a different approach — may be possible. This could include greater co-operation in our respective use of trade remedies, particularly in light of the growing integration of the North American economy and our shared multilateral interests.



It may also be possible to make our respective technical standards regimes, including those that apply to agricultural trade, more compatible and less distorting.

Finally, we would like to see greater co-operation in the development of, and interaction between, trade and the labour and environmental side agreements. The nine ministers under the NAFTA, for example, have never met to discuss the horizontal, converging issues of the day.

In an era of globalization, the social dimensions of our trade policies are attracting more and more public attention. There is no doubt that the goals of trade liberalization, sustainable development and enhanced respect for workers' rights are compatible. What is important is to ensure that the instruments and approaches we adopt for pursuing these goals are as mutually reinforcing as possible.

As I mentioned, this is certainly not an exhaustive list, and our American and Mexican friends may well have additional priorities. The important point, however, is that our three countries work together to ensure that we have a common vision for North American trade policy and that the NAFTA remains the vital, state-of-the-art instrument its architects intended it to be.

Canada and the United States remain not only neighbours but friends. We have fought together in times of war and stood together in times of peace. We are major trading partners and enrich each other in more ways than we can imagine.

Our partnership has now been expanded to include Mexico, and the opportunities for prosperity and for enrichment of the people of this continent are greater than they have ever been.

Let me close by quoting one of this state's former governors, Ronald Reagan.

When he addressed the Parliament of Canada in 1981, President Reagan reminded us that "our mission is more than simply making do . . . [it is to] lift the world's dreams beyond the short limits of our sights, to the far edges of our best hopes."

Let us take that wise counsel to heart and raise our own sights to the dreams of this continent and all that it may become.

Thank you.







International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/30

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI,  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE,  
TO THE 1999 NATIONAL CONFERENCE:  
TOWARD AN AGRICULTURAL POSITION — DIALOGUE  
WITH CANADIAN INDUSTRY

OTTAWA, Ontario  
April 19, 1999  
(2:40 p.m. EDT)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



It's a real pleasure to be with you today — and I want to thank Minister Vanclief and the provincial ministers for their generous invitation.

This is a wonderful opportunity for ministers to hear first-hand the hopes, as well as the concerns, of the agricultural industry as we prepare for the next round of negotiations at the World Trade Organization [WTO].

I know that Lyle has held a number of round tables over the past few months, and that many of you have contributed to those as well. So thanks to all of you for coming and for participating in this important process.

I understand that you had a very full and productive morning, focussing on the international agricultural trade environment, and that this evening, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Glickman will be bringing the American perspective on some of these issues.

Today, I would like to try to give you a sense of the broader picture as we approach the upcoming WTO negotiations and place the agricultural agenda within that larger context.

As you know, negotiations on agriculture and services are slated for this year. Quite frankly, many of our trading partners see a broader round emerging so that we will have the flexibility we need for effective negotiations. The full scope of the negotiations is currently being hammered out, and trade ministers will finalize the agenda when we meet in Seattle in November.

But whatever the final agenda, agriculture will be front and centre, so we need to be prepared.

I don't need to tell any of you that this next round will be challenging. The issues are sensitive, the differences serious and the consequences significant.

And forging a consensus here in Canada will not be easy — there's no sense in pretending otherwise. There is a great diversity of often competing interests, and it will require our best efforts to reach a position that meets the needs of all Canadians.

But I remain optimistic that a Canadian consensus can be reached; that we can enter this round negotiating from a position of strength — a strength rooted in a common commitment to the common good.

And I know that the agricultural community has already done a tremendous amount of work toward this end.

One of the results I would like to see emerge from these negotiations is agricultural trade brought more fully under rules similar to those that apply to trade in other sectors; for example, the prohibition of export subsidies.



It is my firm belief that agriculture, like other sectors, benefits from being part of a rules-based system, where might does not equal right and the law of the jungle doesn't prevail.

One of the great achievements of the Uruguay Round was that, for the first time, agriculture was brought under international trade rules.

The Uruguay Round also strengthened the international trading system by providing for effective mechanisms to resolve disputes that will inevitably arise.

And while many issues remain unresolved, Canada has benefited from those results.

We've benefited because our economy is so dependent upon trade. In fact, trade is more important to the health of our economy than it is to any other major economy on earth.

Now, you would expect a trade minister to trumpet the importance of trade, but when you consider that 40 percent of our GDP and one in three Canadian jobs depends directly upon exports, you can see that the stakes are indeed great.

And when you appreciate that agriculture and agri-food production constitute almost 5 percent of our GDP, and that the sector's exports account for 8 percent of our merchandise exports, you can understand how important these issues are to all Canadians.

Clearly, trade is not an abstraction. It isn't something that happens out there. It produces real jobs for real people in real communities, and it is happening locally, in our rural and urban communities. Like politics, all trade is local.

And far from seeing trade liberalization as something to be feared, Canadians have come to see it as something to be embraced.

So trade is a crucial part of our economic lifeblood, and expanding that trade, under the umbrella of the WTO, is vital to the economic future of this country.

But as I said, it isn't just increasing trade that's important — it's expanding and strengthening the system of rules that ensures market access and regulates that trade.

To a mid-sized economy like ours, rules level the playing field. Rules prevent free trade from becoming a free-for-all. And rules mean that disputes get resolved, not based on the size of the participants, but on the merits of their arguments.

And rules mean that Canadian intellectual property is protected against theft or piracy. This is a crucial protection in a world where trade is becoming increasingly knowledge-based.

Biotechnology, for example, is playing a larger and larger role in the agriculture and food industries, and clear rules regarding its application are essential.

By setting clear rules for trade, we can provide a measure of certainty and predictability for the entire industry. And by attaching tough penalties to those who violate the rules, we can impose disciplines on countries that might be tempted to stray from the acceptable course.

For instance, we are fully prepared to exercise our WTO rights, including retaliation, if we are unable to resolve the long-standing dispute with the EU on beef. Of course, this is not our preferred option, and we are pressing the EU to comply with their WTO obligations and reopen their market to Canadian beef.

This also means that we must respect the rules ourselves — not only when it is convenient, but also when it is not. Because we can't have it both ways.

Of course, where we feel an error has been made in interpreting those rules, we will not hesitate to appeal — as we have said we will do in the case of the WTO ruling on our dairy export pricing system.

Nor will we hesitate to object to measures, as we did to those put forward in the North Dakota legislature, that seek not to facilitate trade, but to restrict it.

So let there be no doubt: we will never allow our friendship with the United States — or any other nation — to supersede our obligation to Canadian farmers.

One of the new realities we face as we approach the next WTO Round is the changing nature of trade negotiations themselves. Let me explain what I mean by that.

Earlier trade negotiations were primarily focussed on so-called border issues, and addressed matters like customs procedures and tariffs — impediments that delayed or blocked access at the border.

As you know, these negotiations were very successful, and many tariffs have now been eliminated or significantly reduced — although there is still work to do.

Making further progress on border measures must remain a priority, including agreement on greater disciplines with respect to transparency and the administration of tariff rate quotas by WTO members.

But today, non-tariff barriers — issues such as sanitary and phytosanitary measures [SPS], licensing and approval procedures, product and professional certifications, and, more broadly, the regulatory framework, are great impediments for exporters.

Our challenge is to address these issues — issues that have traditionally been the purview of individual countries — in a multilateral environment.

This is a significant shift in focus: what were once internal matters of individual countries are now trade issues, discussed in such forums as the WTO.

And as more areas that were traditionally domestic in scope become trade issues — as there is a greater convergence between our trade agenda and our domestic agenda — it becomes increasingly important that the people affected be the people consulted.

That is why our government posted a notice in the Canada Gazette — and on our Web site — inviting all Canadians to express their views on this challenging new trade agenda. And that is why we asked both the Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture and the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade to consult with Canadians from across the country.

My Parliamentary Secretary, Bob Speller, who is here this afternoon and who is a former Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture, has ensured that I have been kept fully apprised of developments in the agricultural sector.

In the case of agriculture in particular, it was essential that broad-based consultations with the various sectors, provinces and the public at large be held to assist us in developing Canada's negotiating positions and objectives.

And make no mistake: these consultations were not an exercise in public relations — they have been an effort to involve as many people as possible in defining the issues and suggesting positions that the federal government should consider.

Many of you have performed yeoman service in this regard. The Canadian Federation of Agriculture, the Alliance of Canadian Agri-food Exporters, the Supply Managed Sectors, the Agriculture, Food and Beverage Sectoral Advisory Group on International Trade and many other groups and associations have produced outstanding papers on a whole range of issues — and I want to commend you for them.

Also, several provincial governments held consultations and produced reports on industry views and on issues with respect to the negotiations. These papers are impressive not only for the positions they present, but also for the attitude they convey — an attitude of flexibility and of willingness to work to resolve industry differences.

And surely that is the key. We are all in this together. We are all seeking an outcome that provides certainty. We all want better access for our products, we all want clarification on SPS issues, we all want effective dispute settlement mechanisms and we all want the early elimination of trade-distorting subsidies.



By addressing these issues within the context of a clear, rules-based system, I am confident that we can emerge from the upcoming round in a far stronger position than we are now.

But first, we have to do our homework. We have to listen to one another's views. And now, we have to look at the best interests of the industry — and the country — as a whole.

I am confident that if we do this, we will be helping to lay the foundation for our future success — success at the negotiating table, in the marketplace and on the family farm.

Thank you.







International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/31

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS

BY THE

HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI

MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE

TO THE

ANDEAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS SEMINAR

OTTAWA, Ontario  
April 20, 1999  
(12:30 p.m. EDT)





Let me begin by welcoming all of our distinguished guests to Ottawa. You have picked a beautiful time of year to visit, and I hope you have the chance to get to know our capital city better during your time with us.

We are particularly honoured that Ministers Marquez, Crespo, Luna, Ramirez and Deputy Minister Icaza are with us today. I am also pleased that Mr. Algrett (Secretary-General of the Andean Community of Nations) and Mr. Garcia (President of the Andean Development Corporation) are attending.

Let me thank the embassies from the member countries of the Andean Community for organizing this important seminar.

This is a wonderful opportunity to renew old friendships and to recommit ourselves to expanding trade and investment between the Andean Community and Canada, so we thank you for your initiative.

Over the past year, we have been honoured to receive a number of distinguished guests from the Andean Community: President Fujimori and President Chavez have both been recent guests, and we are looking forward to welcoming President Pastrana at the end of May.

Through these high-level visits, it is clear that relations between Canada and the Andean Community are strong, and are growing stronger every day.

Both the Andean Community and Canada have recognized that the world is changing dramatically. Around the globe, barriers are falling down and opportunities are opening up for our people to create better lives for themselves and for their children.

And nowhere do we see stronger evidence of the exciting opportunities before us than right here in our own hemisphere.

Today, Canada sees itself as a country of the Americas. The North American Free Trade Agreement, our Free Trade Agreement with Chile, our trade and investment co-operation arrangements with Mercosur and the Central American Common Market, as well as the one we are currently negotiating with the Andean Community — all of these point to our commitment to expanding our trade and investment links throughout the hemisphere.

We are also currently chairing the negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), an initiative that we believe holds tremendous promise for the future prosperity of the peoples of this hemisphere.

Canada believes that the Andean Community has a significant role to play in making the FTAA a reality. You have demonstrated strong leadership in these negotiations through your chairmanship of three of the negotiating groups, and we look forward to Ecuador's chairing of the overall FTAA process following Argentina's tenure.



Of course, is it not just our government that is so optimistic about the possibilities in this region. Canadian business leaders have also seen the potential, and are positioning themselves to participate in the enormous growth ahead.

Last year, more than 500 Canadian businesses participated in our Team Canada trade mission to Latin America, the largest ever such mission.

We have also seen a growing number of bilateral initiatives by the private sector. The Canada-Colombia and Canada-Peru Business Councils, for example, have provided networking opportunities aimed at furthering co-operation among our business communities.

And business associations, such as the Canadian Association of Mining Equipment and Services for Export, have taken the lead in organizing Canadian participation in major trade shows throughout the Andean region.

This November, just prior to the FTAA ministerial meetings, we are looking forward to hosting the Americas Business Forum in Toronto. More than 1000 business leaders, from the 34 countries of our hemisphere, are expected to attend this important event. Not only will it be a tremendous networking opportunity for the private sector, but it will also provide ministers with an important agenda of opportunities and challenges that need to be dealt with.

So Canadian commitment — both at the government level and among the private sector — is clear: we want to do more business with the nations of Latin America.

Canada sees the Andean Community as an area of particular promise. Trade between us is already significant, with two-way trade standing at about \$3 billion in 1998. This is comparable to the \$3.4 billion in trade that Canada does with Mercosur.

And our trade with the Andean Community has been increasing, by about 3.5 percent every year, since 1995.

Similarly, our investment in your Community is showing strong growth. Canadian investment in Peru alone is projected to reach \$6 billion over the next five years.

As you know, much of that investment is in the natural resources sector. The similarity of our geographies, particularly that of Western Canada, enables direct application of Canadian experience and expertise in the Andean environment.

Teck, Noranda and Rio Algom, for example, will invest over \$3 billion to develop ANTAMINA, Latin America's largest zinc/copper mine, in Peru.

In Venezuela, Placer Dome is contributing more than half a billion dollars to the Las Cristinas gold mine.

And in Ecuador, Pacalta, of Alberta, has been active in the oil sector, pumping more than 200 000 barrels of crude last year.

The mining sector has also demonstrated the relationship between trade and investment, with Canadian investments in mining operations leading to the export of Canadian mining equipment and services.

Canada is also sharing its expertise in high technology.

In Colombia, for example, Northern Telecom is a leading supplier of cellular technology and switches, while Bell Canada, through its subsidiary, Comcel, is a major provider of wireless communications services.

And in Bolivia, Walsh Automation, of Montreal, has upgraded the security system of the Santa Cruz Airport.

So we have established a strong foundation for commercial activity between us. Now, the time has come to build on that foundation, to take our relationship to the next level and realize the great untapped potential between us.

One of the important steps we can take in that regard is to conclude further foreign investment protection and double taxation agreements with individual members of the Andean Community. These would go a long way to promoting a positive trade and investment climate, and would send an important signal to our respective business communities.

Recently, one of our shared objectives has been a trade and investment co-operation arrangement between Canada and the Andean Community.

I am pleased to report that these negotiations are at a very advanced stage, and that we will be signing this arrangement in the very near future. We are confident that this arrangement will help to further strengthen the ties between us and lead to even greater co-operation in the future.

I am also pleased to announce that this year the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, in partnership with the Bolivar Program, will sponsor eight youth internships in Latin America, including in the Andean Community. These internships will provide young Canadians with the opportunity to learn more about doing business in Latin America, while gaining an understanding of technology transfer issues.

The internships will also help to reinforce the strong people-to-people relations between us.

This focus on the people side of our relationship is not accidental: we believe that the best way to build solid, long-term commercial relations is through direct, first-hand experience.

Fax to fax will never replace face to face in developing our relationship, and we intend to continue supporting initiatives that bring our people together.

Indeed, people are at the heart of our common efforts to enhance trade and investment between us. Like politics, all trade is local.

Beyond improving the bottom line of our companies, trade is about enhancing the opportunities and quality of life for our people. Freer trade offers our citizens markets for their products, rewards for their labour and hope for their future.

Today, more than ever, debates over trade must address issues of fairness and the equitable sharing of prosperity. Because, if history teaches us anything, it is that we can only ensure long-term stability if the benefits are shared, the people are engaged and the system is just.

And so our discussions about trade and investment must be inclusive. They must reach out to a wide spectrum of opinion within our societies — business, labour, academia and the larger community.

By listening to all of these different voices, we will not only create a greater acceptance of freer trade, but will also ensure that its benefits are indeed widely shared.

It was more than 150 years ago that Simon Bolivar spoke of his desire to see the Americas fashioned into the greatest region in the world. "Greatest," he said, "not so much by virtue of her area and her wealth, as by her freedom and her glory."

Today, we have the opportunity to bring Bolivar's dream closer to reality. We can unite the Americas as never before, and create a region that is great in both wealth and freedom.

In that effort, we see Canada and the Andean Community standing side by side and arm in arm.

Let us resolve not to turn from our course until the full potential of this hemisphere is realized and all of its people share in its bounty.

Thank you.



# Statement

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

99/33

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE FIRST MEETING OF STATES PARTIES  
TO THE ANTI-PERSONNEL MINE BAN CONVENTION

MAPUTO, Mozambique  
May 3, 1999  
(5:15 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





In meeting here today in Mozambique, I feel we are bringing this issue — a global ban on landmines — full circle. For it was the stories of horror and devastation caused by anti-personnel [AP] mines told by people from war-torn communities everywhere, from Mozambique and Cambodia to Central America and Afghanistan, that put the landmine issue at the forefront of the international agenda.

The dignity, graciousness and hope with which the Government of Mozambique and the people of Mozambique receive us here today is a testament to what can be done when a society — supported by the world — decides truly to leave war behind and begin the arduous process of reconstruction and reconciliation. These same stories of hope and courage can be found in other mine-affected states around the world.

I would like to thank the Government of Mozambique for inviting us to their country for this important occasion. There is no better place for this historic meeting to have taken place. I know that this meeting is the result of months of hard work and commitment by many people — in Maputo, in capitals around the world — including members of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade serving here in the region and in Ottawa. I would like to offer you my sincere thanks and congratulations for your efforts.

The history of this process has been unique. Unique because it brought together governments and civil society, the countries of the North and South, the world's international organizations and committed people everywhere to work for the common goal of a ban, an unequivocal ban on anti-personnel mines.

From its very outset, this process was driven by the conviction that we had to take decisive action to protect the lives and well-being of innocent individuals, ruthlessly swept up in the horror of war. The way we dealt with the landmine issue changed thinking about how we could deal with humanitarian crises. It is no coincidence that, shortly after achieving the landmine ban, the international community moved to create the International Criminal Court. There is clearly a new dynamic emerging around the world that is increasingly placing the individual — individual rights, dignity and well-being — at the centre of the international agenda.

Those of you who visited the mine fields yesterday saw the deadly impact of these weapons on the lives and land of Mozambicans. Unfortunately, I was not able to join you. I was visiting a refugee camp, Stenkovic 1, in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I spoke with people who had fled their homes; listened to their stories of brutal murders, rapes, the hysteria of hatred and the destruction of every shred of normality and security in their lives. I left there with strengthened resolve and conviction: the international community has no option but to act to protect and defend individuals when their very lives and existence are threatened.

These are strong words, I know. And controversial. But they must be said. And this is the right setting. We are here among a group of countries — with the United Nations, the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross], and the NGO community — that

decided to take firm action on behalf of people everywhere and so moved, with extraordinary speed, to ban anti-personnel mines. This was an act of courage and humanity. This decision was not, of course, popular with everyone. And we still have our detractors. But we know we did the right thing, at the right moment, for the right reasons: protecting the security of individuals. It is this same motivation and the same challenge that we face in places such as Kosovo, Sierra Leone and in too many other places.

It is this same humanitarian agenda that should drive us forward in our work here. Of course, we can and should celebrate our meeting here today. We have achieved a treaty that no one thought possible. We have seen it enter into force in record time. We have watched much of the global community rally round the new international norm created by this treaty. However, our celebration must be tempered because, even as we meet, there are new victims and new mines are being laid. New mines. Remining. Even by countries that have signed the Convention. This is cause for real concern.

- In Angola, a treaty signatory, mines are again being used. This, in a country whose own people are already suffering the tragedy of previous AP mine use.
- There are persistent reports of mines being laid in the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea.
- Mines are being used as part of the brutal ethnic cleansing campaign under way in Kosovo. The stories told to me by a representative of Handicap International in Skopje confirmed that, even after we have a political settlement to this conflict, mines will pose a serious threat that will impede the rapid return of refugees to their homes.

We must use this opportunity here to speak out about these acts that violate the new international norm created by the treaty. We must respond to those who challenge the validity of the treaty.

We can do this by working at the regional level to bring pressure to bear on these governments to stop creating this humanitarian disaster in our neighbourhoods. We must call these miscreants to account: to their own publics and to the international community.

We must also use this opportunity, here in Maputo, to recommit ourselves to the principles and obligations we have assumed in signing and ratifying this Convention. We cannot permit a few delinquents to squander all that we have accomplished.

We have help in our task: the continued momentum behind the Convention that continually brings forward more ratifications and the addition of new signatories. We also have the power of civil society behind us — a community committed to ensuring that the gains made in the negotiation and signing of the AP mine ban convention

become real and remain respected. This community has made an incredible contribution to this effort with the publication, in record time, of *Mine Monitor*, with its comprehensive documentation of the mine issue in over 100 countries. Canada is proud to have been an early and vigorous supporter of this effort — we encourage others to join in funding this publication and helping it become an annual citizen's companion to our Convention.

There are also new challenges to face, made clear by the continued use of landmines in areas of conflict such as Kosovo and Angola. Those mines will present a major obstacle and risk in any resettlement of refugees. We must use this meeting, here in Maputo, to put in place at the United Nations a rapid-response mine action capacity that is able to mobilize as soon as a peace agreement is reached, or even before. A quick and co-ordinated mine action response will save lives. There are a number of elements that we should consider:

- information gathering and planning;
- the integration of mine action plans into peace accords;
- the provision of maps and technical details by belligerents in the post-conflict phase;
- the availability and pre-positioning of equipment;
- rapidly deployable survey and assessment teams;
- mine awareness and preparedness training while refugees are still in the camps; and
- the provision of emergency medical assistance to victims.

I believe that the international community should work together, with the UN, to examine the challenges posed by post-conflict mine action and to develop ideas for a systematic and effective approach to dealing with these urgent humanitarian situations.

## **Taking Stock**

While looking forward, we must also reflect on what we have accomplished so far — if only to ensure that we continue to make steady progress. Has the Convention, with its commitments to destroy stockpiles, stop transfers, clear mines and help victims, made a difference to the lives of people in mine-affected states? Let's look at a few facts:

- As of today, 135 countries have foresworn the use of AP mines, all but two of the countries of the Americas, most of Europe and much of Asia. Seventy-seven countries have already ratified the Convention.
- The number of mine victims in some of the world's most severely affected countries is declining.



- The once-flourishing trade in AP mines has all but vanished. There are fewer than 10 mine-producing countries in the world that do not support a comprehensive moratorium or de facto ban on the export of AP mines.
- Since the Ottawa Process began in 1996, 20 countries have destroyed more than 14 million stockpiled mines. These are mines that will never take a life or limb.
- Resources for mine action are increasing. In Ottawa, in December 1997, half a billion dollars was pledged in mine action. Canada itself committed \$100 million over five years. Global funds are starting to flow. In the past year alone, 10 donor countries have initiated 98 new mine action programs in 25 countries.

And we are starting to be smarter about how we do mine action: prioritizing to meet the needs of local communities; helping build the capacities within mine-affected states themselves; and integrating NGOs into our mine action right from the beginning, co-ordinating our efforts through the UN Mine Action Service, which is acting as a global focal point for effective mine action. The Convention is helping: the fact is that it makes much more sense to invest in the painstaking and costly task of mine clearance in places where governments have said they will never again use these weapons.

### **Innovation and Momentum**

This meeting represents the beginning of another phase in our work. Now the challenge is to focus our resources and our partnership for the long haul.

We must continue our work to universalize the Convention.

- Convince those who believe they need these weapons to protect their borders that there are much more effective alternatives that won't mistake a shepherd or a child for a smuggler or a terrorist.
- Convince those who think that AP mines afford them some military advantage that such advantage, if indeed it exists, is transitory at best; it will become humanity's lingering and deadly disadvantage.

It is the compelling humanitarian case against these weapons that has moved 32 of 34 countries in the Americas, 17 of 19 NATO members, most of Africa, and much of Asia to give up AP mines; to make adjustments to their force structures and to find alternatives — in doctrine and technology — that will neither heighten the risk to soldiers nor leave behind a deadly legacy for an innocent population. We can — and must — live without these weapons, just as we live without dum dum bullets, chemical weapons and the other horrific instruments of war that, because of their extreme humanitarian impact, have been outlawed.

### **Making Progress**

Maintaining the momentum behind the issue will be key. It is important to reach out continually to engage our publics and respond to the real interest shown by people.

Funding by governments is important and significant. But there are others in our societies who want to play a part in ridding the world of these weapons and helping the victims. For this reason, we are working to engage the private sector, in partnership with NGOs and government, to make our mine action effort sustainable.

The Intersessional Work Program proposed for adoption at this meeting also provides a framework for more structured work on mine action and Convention implementation. It will give us the opportunity, for example, to focus work on key issues such as victim assistance and the challenges of long-term reintegration into society. We hope that it will be agreed here. And we hope that all states — signatories and non-signatories, as well as the UN, international organizations and NGOs who share our mine action objectives — will participate in this work. Canada, as always, is ready and willing to play its part.

### **The Continuing Challenge**

Just over two years ago, in our own capital city of Ottawa, we took up a challenge that many thought impossible. The majority of the world's governments and millions of people responded with energy and determination. That response produced our Convention, opening for signature in that same city just one year later. Even those few who have not yet signed are increasingly caught up in the spirit of the Convention and its new international norm.

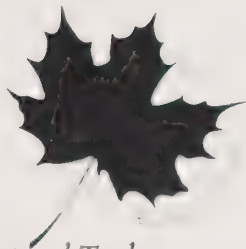
Now we have a new challenge: to fully implement this Convention. To make the world a more humane place because we will have banned and eliminated this weapon. To make it part of the world's brutal past — having no place in humanity's hopeful future.

Our track record in meeting — and exceeding — challenges that seemed beyond anyone's expectations has been pretty good to date.

Let's not stop. Let's keep going together, in partnership. It is what the people of the world expect. We must continue to consecrate our work for all those who, over the years, have been the victims of AP mines.

Thank you.





International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfa.it-ma.eci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa.it-ma.eci.gc.ca)

99/34

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI,  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE,  
TO THE  
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS' CLUB OF JAPAN

TOKYO, Japan  
May 11, 1999  
(3:00 p.m. EDT)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada





I would like to thank the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan for hosting this wonderful luncheon. It is said that there is nowhere more beautiful than Paris in the spring, but I think Tokyo can make a very strong claim for that honour. I am delighted to be with you during this most hopeful of seasons.

Today, I would like to speak briefly about Canada's objectives for the upcoming round of negotiations at the World Trade Organization (WTO).

As you know, I have come to Tokyo to join my colleagues from the European Union, Japan and the United States to discuss what the members of the Quad can do to ensure the success of the WTO negotiations.

This visit also affords me the opportunity to reassert Canada's strong commitment to Japan, and to restate our confidence in its ability to make the adjustments necessary to regain its role as the engine of economic growth in Asia.

Let me say that having just come through a substantial period of adjustment in Canada, we have some appreciation for the challenges that you are facing. But I can also say, without hesitation, that the adjustments were worthwhile, and we have emerged stronger and more competitive as a result.

Canada and Japan are good friends and substantial trading partners. In fact, Japan is Canada's second-largest trading partner in the world. Two-way trade now exceeds C\$22 billion, and Canadian companies have established a strong presence in sectors as varied as housing, consumer products and software.

We hope to see this commercial relationship grow even stronger, and that's why, in September, Prime Minister Chrétien will lead a "Team Canada" trade mission to Japan; a team that will include our provincial premiers, territorial leaders, municipal representatives and several hundred business leaders.

Our goal is to increase and deepen our trade and investment ties with Japan, and I am confident that we will succeed in doing just that.

We have also appreciated the valuable assistance provided by the Japanese External Trade Organization (JETRO) to Canadian companies seeking to enter the Japanese market, and we look forward to continued co-operation with this vital agency.

So let there be no doubt — Canada is committed to our relationship with Japan. We are here for the long haul, as a key ally and trading partner.

Turning now to the WTO negotiations, let me just say that the proposed round comes at an historic moment.

Around the world, barriers are falling down and opportunities are opening up. Distances are collapsing and the conditions for a truly global trading system are emerging.

While recent economic turmoil has caused some to question the benefits of globalization, I believe that the difficulties of the past two years make the case for *more* liberalization in trade and investment, not less.

Freer trade promotes economic growth. Freer trade creates jobs and raises living standards. It offers people markets for their products, rewards for their labours and hope for their futures.

To lose sight of these benefits behind the clouds of transient events is to deprive ourselves of the best means of dispersing those clouds.

The Uruguay Round did a great deal to unlock the potential of both people and economies. It strengthened the international trading system by opening markets, expanding the rules of the game and providing effective mechanisms for resolving disputes.

But there is still work to do; an unfinished agenda remains. An agenda of both process and substance — or a matter of plumbing and poetry.

On the plumbing front, access, for example, is still an important issue. In today's global village, there are still neighbourhoods we cannot enter, streets we cannot travel and customers we cannot reach. We need to open those doors and make our village one that is fully accessible to all.

In addition, we need to encourage others to take the steps that we have taken — to become open, outward-looking economies and to explain the benefits of doing so.

We also need to find ways to advance participation in the global economy by less-developed countries. To marginalize these countries now would not only deprive them of their greatest hope for their own future prosperity, but it would deprive us all of the significant contribution that they can make to the global economy.

One way to achieve that objective would be to better co-ordinate policies among the WTO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other multilateral organizations responsible for global economic policy-making.

And if we are to make the trading system truly universal, we must include in the WTO, sooner rather than later, such major economies as China, Russia, Chinese Taipei and Saudi Arabia.

Another challenge facing us at the WTO is to ensure that the rules of trade themselves keep pace with the changes taking place in business practices, technology and social systems. We cannot proceed into the next millennium with old rules that don't reflect the new realities.

And, I believe that we need to make the whole WTO process more transparent. Secrecy serves no one and risks alienating everyone.

Indeed, in order to build and maintain public support and understanding for international trade, I believe that policy makers need to do three things, both internationally and at home:

- First, we need to make international institutions more open and accountable. In the case of the WTO, more liberal access to documents and better efforts at outreach would go a long way toward building support.
- Second, we need to be more inclusive. Trade is about *people*, not numbers, so it is important that we provide opportunities for the public to have input into the process. In Canada, we have launched an extensive series of consultations through Parliament and by the government itself, so that Canadians from all walks of life can have a say in our policies.
- Third, we need to be more responsive. When we are presented with concerns about labour standards or environmental issues, for example, we need to respond with hard facts, not soft answers. We need to provide evidence, not excuses.

So while freer trade may be an idea whose time has come, it is not an idea whose success is assured. And we need to stop assuming that everyone agrees with the wisdom of our actions. We need to bring people in, not shut people out.

Turning to the poetry, or the content side of the upcoming negotiations, our view is that they should be broadly based, both to attract support and to satisfy a wide range of interests. As results are achieved in individual sectors, these could be grouped together for early implementation. This will make for a more manageable, digestible and timely approach that has something for everyone, rather than another seven-year marathon journey.

Ideally, this means that negotiations will extend beyond this year's mandated areas of agriculture and services. Let me suggest the following areas that governments might consider:

- further reducing tariffs on industrial goods, including the possible elimination of



so-called "nuisance tariffs" — those below 2 percent;

- addressing non-tariff barriers, including issues dealing with standards, customs valuations and rules of origin;
- curbing the abuse of anti-dumping and countervailing duty actions;
- bringing agricultural trade more fully under the rules, including eliminating all export subsidies;
- extending the rules on services in trade, with a particular emphasis on professional services;
- exploring *new* issues such as intellectual property, electronic commerce, transparency in government procurement, investment and competition policy, as well as culture, environment and labour; and finally,
- ensuring that governments *retain* the ability to regulate for reasons of public health, consumer safety, social policy or other legitimate public interests.

We believe that such a package of issues could attract widespread support and would provide important momentum at the launch of these negotiations.

As I close, let me say that Canada is under no illusions about the challenges before us. In many cases, the issues are sensitive, the differences serious and the consequences significant.

However, as the Japanese proverb reminds us, "there is nothing that cannot be achieved by firm determination." And I remain optimistic that a consensus *can* be reached; that nations *will* make the necessary compromises, and that the world trading system will emerge stronger, freer and fairer than it has ever been before.

That is Canada's hope, that is our resolve and that is our firm determination.

Thank you.

# Statement

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/35

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

MESSAGE FROM  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE HAGUE APPEAL FOR PEACE

THE HAGUE, Netherlands  
May 13, 1999  
(4:15 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I regret that I am not able to join you today at this important global assembly. The theme of this event — achieving global peace and security — has lost none of its relevance or urgency since the first Hague Appeal for Peace a century ago.

The overwhelming response, the impressive and wide participation, the comprehensive agenda of this gathering all attest to a profound, universal desire to work toward this goal. They are also a testament to the vision and hard work of the event's organizers, especially Mr. Bill Pace. To them I extend my appreciation.

The program of this conference makes clear that the road to world peace has many paths. However, what unites them is, I believe, a very simple aspiration: well-being and security for all people. I fully share this aspiration. Promoting human security is at the heart of the new diplomacy.

The changing nature of violent conflict and the forces of globalization have increasingly put people at the centre of world affairs. Human security is more central than ever to national security, regional stability and global peace. For so many, however, that security has never been at greater risk.

Today, civilians pay the heaviest price from the rise in intrastate conflict and from failed states, they bear the brunt of the new practices of war and they suffer most from the inexpensive yet readily available weapons of modern war. This is a reality all too palpable for ordinary people from Sierra Leone to the Balkans, from Central Africa to Cambodia.

Threats to individual security are not limited to violent conflict. For all its promise, globalization has also shown a dark underside. Transnational phenomena — terrorism, illicit drugs and crime, environmental degradation and infectious disease, financial and economic instability — put all of us at risk. Indeed, they have already caused tremendous suffering, especially for the most vulnerable.

At the same time, instantaneous communications, rapid transportation, increasingly porous borders, and rising business, cultural and academic ties have undeniably and unalterably merged all our lives into a common destiny. In this world, the security or insecurity of others has become very much our own security or insecurity. As a result, we have both a responsibility and an interest to act when the well-being of others is imperiled.

The new diplomacy, with human security at its centre, is an effort to respond to these new global realities. It is, in essence, an effort to construct a global society where the safety of the individual is at the centre of international priorities and a motivating force for international action, where international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web protecting the individual, where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable, and finally where our global, regional and bilateral institutions — present and future — are built and equipped to enhance and enforce these standards.



To that end, human security has been the impetus behind efforts to create the International Criminal Court, thereby strengthening the arm of international justice; it is behind the Ottawa Convention banning anti-personnel landmines [APMs] — a novel, people-based approach to disarmament; and it is behind the movement to expand international legal norms — for example, to protect children in armed conflict.

Fostering human security has likewise been the motive behind efforts to adapt existing global and regional institutions in order to integrate human concerns into their activities. This is particularly important at the United Nations Security Council. Rather than avoiding engagement, the Council, as the legitimate decision-making body for peace and security, should be actively involved in setting the rules — and limits — for international involvement in the new, admittedly more complex, situations of modern armed conflict.

Advancing human security is also the reason for developing innovative global partnerships linking countries, institutions and non-governmental organizations with like-minded objectives. Such coalitions between governments and civil society helped make the campaign to ban APMs a success and were instrumental to progress in adopting the statute of the International Criminal Court. They are harbingers of the future, demonstrating the power of good ideas and pooled resources. Your presence here in such numbers is a powerful signal; your energy, expertise and ideas are indispensable in the pursuit of the human security agenda.

Finally, enhancing human security means enhancing national security. The two are not mutually exclusive. However, the security of the state is not an end in itself. It is a means of ensuring security for people. In this context, state security and human security are in fact mutually supportive. Building an effective, democratic state that values its own people and protects minorities is central to promoting human security. At the same time, improving the human security of its people strengthens the legitimacy, stability and security of a state.

Where human security exists as a fact rather than an aspiration, that situation can be attributed, in large measure, to the effective governance of states. For this reason, peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts that focus on building open and stable societies are an important element in enhancing human security.

Sometimes, however, when states are externally aggressive, internally repressive or too weak to govern effectively, they threaten the security of people. In the face of massive state-sponsored murders, appalling violations of human rights and the calculated brutalization of people, the humanitarian imperative to act cannot be ignored and can outweigh concerns about state sovereignty.

In this situation, when other means of addressing the threats have been exhausted, robust measures (including military action) may be needed to defend human security. It is in this context that the response to the conflict in Kosovo should be seen.

The recourse to airstrikes was precipitated by evidence that repression by the Serb authorities was on the rise and accelerating. It was and is the humanitarian imperative that galvanized NATO to act. It is engaged in Kosovo to restore human security to the people of Kosovo. The Alliance's action is a clear signal that it is unacceptable to slaughter people, to commit the most flagrant violations of humanitarian law against them, to deprive them arbitrarily of their property, or to expel them from their homes and homeland. It is a clear message that those responsible will be held accountable. Far from being in contradiction with the human security agenda, the Alliance's campaign is an important, precedent-setting action in support of it.

Vaclav Havel observed, "The sovereignty of the community, the region, the nation, the state . . . makes sense only if it is derived from the one genuine sovereignty — that is, from the sovereignty of the human being." In a similar vein, I believe that the concept of peace and security — national, regional and global — makes sense only if it is derived from human security. This is the basis of the new diplomacy.

Your discussions this week will be important in charting a course in support of global peace and security for the next century. I hope this will reflect the new diplomacy and point to ways to promote human security more effectively. I wish you luck and look forward to receiving the results of your work.





International Trade  
Commerce internationale

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/37

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON  
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS  
ON BILL C-55

OTTAWA, Ontario  
May 25, 1999  
(3:30 p.m. EDT)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada





Let me first of all say how much I appreciate this opportunity to come before you today to discuss the international trade side of the Bill C-55 coin. I have followed your deliberations on Bill C-55 with interest. I have also read with care the comments made to this Committee by my colleague the Minister of Canadian Heritage.

Let me say at the outset that I share her view that there is nothing inconsistent or incompatible about a vigorous and open trade policy and an equally strong defence of one's own culture.

So let there be no doubt: this government stands behind Bill C-55, and we are determined to see it passed into law.

Let me just quickly review how we came to be where we are now.

Honourable Senators will know that in 1997 the World Trade Organization [WTO] found certain of Canada's policies with respect to our publishing industry to be inconsistent with our obligations under international trade rules. We responded in full to that ruling by removing the four specific measures that were found to be inconsistent. The United States recognized the steps we took to comply with the WTO ruling.

In October of last year, the Minister of Canadian Heritage proposed Bill C-55, which, as you know, ensures that only Canadian periodical publishers will be able to sell advertising services to Canadian advertisers directed primarily at the Canadian market. We believe that Bill C-55 complies with the WTO, as it is a measure aimed at restricting access to certain services, not goods. Under the WTO regime, we have no obligation to provide national treatment for advertising services.

The United States, however, does not share our view that the new legislation, Bill C-55, is consistent with our international obligations. And so we began a series of discussions aimed at resolving our differences.

Since January, a series of meetings have been held between Canadian and U.S. officials, and I have been in touch with Trade Representative Barshefsky on an ongoing basis.

While you will appreciate that I cannot go into the details of those discussions this afternoon, I will say that we have made substantial progress and I expect that we will come to a meeting of the minds very soon. I should also say, Madam Chair, that both sides have approached this issue in good faith, for neither side desires a trade war. We are, after all, each other's best customers. More than \$1.5 billion in trade crosses our border every day. It is the world's biggest and best trading partnership. That's why we have sought to resolve these issues through dialogue. That's how neighbours, friends and trading partners do things.

We should also remember that in the past Canada and the United States have settled many disputes in our commercial relationship through dialogue; indeed, that has been the rule, not the exception.

Most recently, for example, we were able to work out our differences over actions taken by some Midwestern states in the area of agriculture.

So we saw our present discussions with the United States as an opportunity to advance our cultural objectives, while avoiding confrontation.

I might just add, Madam Chair, that this desire to resolve disputes through discussion is not only a matter of preference, between friends, it is also a practical approach, between partners. For the consequences of a trade war would be immediate, its resolution protracted and its consequences harmful.

If the United States did take trade action against those industries that are reported targets (steel, apparel, plastics and lumber), there would be a chilling effect on new export contracts and investments in those key sectors.

While we would have the right to challenge the United States under the NAFTA dispute settlement procedures, until a decision was rendered by a panel Canadian exporters would suffer, any expansion plans would be put on hold and Canadian jobs could be imperilled.

For all of these reasons, the Government of Canada has preferred a negotiated solution — neither a solution at any price, nor one that plays one sector off against another, but a mutually satisfactory and balanced agreement.

And I remain confident that such a way will be found in the near future.

However, should an agreement not be reached, it has been Canada's consistent position that the matter be referred to the WTO for an independent review. After all, that is one of the reasons we *have* multilateral institutions like the WTO.

And as an institution, its rules need to be respected and its dispute settlement mechanism needs to be the ultimate court of appeal for any two differing parties.

Moreover, more generally, this dispute has highlighted the need for clear rules on culture and trade at the multilateral level. I have maintained for some time now that the WTO needs to address this gap, which I believe is of increasing interest to a growing number of member nations.

As we approach the launching of a new round at the WTO, we should give more thoughtful consideration to how we can develop a more certain and secure framework for promoting and protecting cultural industries within the global trading system.

But returning to the present dispute, let me be clear: we will not make a deal with the United States at any price. There are lines this government is not prepared to cross, concessions we are not prepared to make, principles we are not prepared to abandon.

Culture is too important, too fundamental to our character as a nation. And Madam Chair, the fact is that culture *need* not be sacrificed to commercial considerations. The two can constructively co-exist.

Now I know that some would argue that the assertion of cultural integrity is inconsistent with our strong advocacy of open trade policies; that to support freer trade is to allow unrestricted access to our market.

While I understand these arguments, I do not share them. And in the remainder of my time with you this afternoon, I would like to explain why I believe freer trade and the assertion of our culture are indeed compatible.

First of all, the argument that free trade means no restrictions is patently false. Every trade agreement contains exceptions. Every country has particular interests it seeks to defend.

So while economic theory may suggest an “all or nothing” approach, the world in which we live operates somewhat differently.

A corollary of the “all or nothing” argument is that globalization is really about sameness: that we must abandon our differences if we are to trade with one another. Or that because we trade with one another, we become more alike.

But, Madam Chair, my view of globalization is not one in which everyone wears Nike shoes, drinks Pepsi and shops at the Gap.

Trade liberalization does not mean sameness. It means that countries can promote their uniqueness. It means putting forth our differences and letting the market decide on their merit.

It means that a country does not surrender its sovereignty over that which is most basic to it — its culture — simply by virtue of its having entered into a free trade agreement.

I have said many times, and in many parts of the world, that a country should not have to sell its soul in order to sell its goods.



These, then, are the principles that have guided our conduct on the issue of split-run magazines. And these are the principles that Canadians can expect us to honour in whatever arrangement is finally reached.

As I close, Madam Chair, let me say that as Minister for International Trade, I fully understand and support the benefits that freer trade is bringing to this country. Canadians recognize that the success of our nation's economy is inextricably linked to our ability to venture beyond our borders in search of economic opportunities.

But in the context of the Bill C-55 discussions, we should also recall that it was an American poet, Robert Frost, who observed that "good fences make good neighbours." Not fences to keep our neighbours out, but fences to preserve that which is within.

Thank you.



International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/38

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO  
THE FIFTH CONFÉRENCE DE MONTRÉAL

MONTREAL, Quebec  
May 31, 1999  
(9:30 a.m. EDT)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



It is a real pleasure to be with you today, and to welcome so many distinguished visitors to our country.

Y quiero darles, en esta ocasion, una bienvenida calurosa a nuestros amigos de america latina y del caribe.

In many ways, this conference kicks off a period when Canadian eyes will be turned to the Americas as never before.

In just a few weeks, we will welcome the athletes of the hemisphere to the Pan American Games in Winnipeg. In November, Canada will host the Americas Business Forum in Toronto, to be followed immediately by the FTAA [Free Trade Area of the Americas] Trade Ministers' meeting.

In the spring we will host the Annual General Assembly of the Organization of American States. And of course Canada is also the venue for the next Summit of the Americas in 2001, to be held in Quebec City, one of our most beautiful, enchanting and historic cities.

As we enter a new millennium, the deepening of our relationship with the Americas is a natural next step in Canada's economic evolution.

That's because how or with whom we trade is partly a function of how we fit in with the global community. Our trading patterns are a reflection of who we are.

Trade has brought Canada prosperity — and with over 40 percent of our economy and one job in three linked to exports, it is clear that we are on the right path. It is also clear that when Canadian traders work together, Canada really works!

Just as the fur traders of yesterday brought back jobs, investment and growth to their homes, Team Canada missions do the same for all of Canada today. The partnerships and alliances we build on our trade missions will last for generations and enable us to adapt to today's ever-changing world.

More and more, we have come to realize that our future prosperity is intrinsically linked to that of our hemisphere. Indeed, we currently export more to Latin America than we do to France and Germany combined. And not surprisingly, the Team Canada mission to Latin America was the largest in our history, with more than 500 companies participating, representing all 10 provinces.

That mission led to over 300 deals valued at almost \$2 billion. Such success reflects how well the federal and provincial governments work together. Team Canada missions are testimony to the fact that Canada works best when it works together.

Canada sees a great future for this hemisphere — a future united by trade, strengthened by commerce and energized by *its people*.



Recognizing the growing importance of Latin America, we have signed a free trade agreement with Chile, and concluded trade and investment arrangements with Mercosur and with Central America. We are pursuing a similar arrangement with the Andean Community.

And so to the question posed by this plenary — “Are we ready for hemispheric free trade?” — my answer is a most emphatic “yes.”

As you know, Canada is chairing the FTAA process until November of this year, and I am pleased to report that the FTAA negotiations are right on track.

Work programs have been established for the nine negotiating groups and for the three bodies dealing with some of the broader, cross-cutting issues. Negotiations are well under way.

The Trade Negotiating Committee met last month in Miami to advance our work on business facilitation and will meet again in Bolivia in July. Their preparatory work will enable Ministers to take stock of the negotiations and chart next steps when we convene in Toronto.

But while hemispheric free trade may be an idea whose time has come, it is not an idea whose success is assured.

So this morning, I want to discuss a number of challenges confronting the FTAA. Let me touch on five that Canada considers paramount.

### **Political Momentum**

First is the need to sustain political momentum for the FTAA. And there are several dimensions to this.

For starters, there is the absence of fast-track negotiating authority in the United States. While this is disappointing, it is not fatal for the time being. However, it will clearly affect the level of engagement of other countries, which will not want to negotiate twice. Clearly, no one wants to see the results of months of effort opened up to the wheeling and dealing of the United States Congress.

So let there be no doubt: the hemisphere needs a United States that is outward-looking and committed to trade liberalization. Fast-track authority would provide an important reassurance in this regard.

It would also ensure that no one else could use the absence of this authority to delay progress for other reasons.

Another variable affecting the political landscape is the impact of the global financial crisis. The events of the last two years have caused some to question the benefits of freer trade and to call for increased protection. From our perspective, however, these events only make the case for trade liberalization more compelling.

History shows that closing markets only aggravates recessions and makes economic turnaround more difficult. Any return to the protectionist policies of the past, therefore, would betray our commitment to our citizens to create jobs, facilitate economic growth and enhance the quality of their lives.

Moreover, the time frame we have set for ourselves also presents a political challenge. 2005 is a relatively long negotiating horizon, and over the next six years all the key players will have elections. We should not be surprised if the result is that process issues dominate the first few years, with the more difficult decisions left to the later stages of the talks.

So maintaining the political momentum will not be easy, but it is essential to do so if we are to make the sustained effort required to reach an agreement.

### **Disparity in Size and Economic Development Among the FTAA Participants**

The second challenge is the disparity in size and economic development among the 34 FTAA participants.

Negotiating a free trade agreement among nations so diverse is unprecedented. Clearly, creativity and institutional support will be needed so that the smaller economies may effectively prepare for, conduct and follow up on the negotiations.

That's why Trade Ministers agreed last year to establish a Consultative Group on Smaller Economies. This body is playing an important role in identifying the concerns and interests of smaller economies across all of the Negotiating Groups.

If you represent Trinidad and Tobago, for example, with a population of 1 million, and you look to Brazil, with 160 million, certain legitimate concerns naturally arise. Canada understands these concerns. After all, we entered into a free trade agreement with the United States, an economy 10 times our size.

But we also understand — and have experienced — the tremendous benefits that flow from liberalized trade. In good part, we have prospered by having a rules-based framework, including an independent mechanism where trade disputes are decided on the strength of the argument and not on the size of the participants.

And that is a message we have raised and will continue to champion on behalf of the smaller economies of the hemisphere — because at the end of the day, a successful FTAA means leaving no members behind.

## **Civil Society**

The third challenge is to engage civil society in the process.

We cannot expect to establish a comprehensive, 34-country trade agreement without involving our people in a meaningful way.

This is not simply a philosophical preference; it is a practical necessity. For if we are to broaden political support for continued trade liberalization, our people must feel that their interests are represented, their voices heard and their input valued.

I am pleased that Trade Ministers have agreed to a Canadian proposal to establish a Civil Society Committee. But encouraging as this step is, I believe that more needs to be done.

The Committee needs to be made permanent, with adequate support and a broader mandate to enable direct contact with non-governmental organizations.

Now, I recognize that there is some difference of opinion on the issue of civil society. But we all live in democracies. And the reality is that the social dimensions of trade policy are attracting more and more prominence in all of our countries.

As domestic and international issues become increasingly intertwined, concerns are being raised about issues that directly affect people's lives — issues such as the environment and labour standards.

These concerns cannot simply be wished away. They merit a fair hearing.

Of course, there is no better way to make the case for the participation of civil society at the hemispheric level than to show leadership on this issue at home.

Canada is doing just that. Indeed, we have already held very successful consultations with a wide variety of organizations and industry stakeholders.

Since February, the Foreign Affairs and International Trade Committee of the House of Commons has been holding hearings across Canada on both the WTO [World Trade Organization] and FTAA negotiations.

And we are consulting, on an ongoing basis, with the provinces so that their views will be fully reflected in the positions we take.



The federal government takes seriously its commitment to listening to the views of all Canadian stakeholders and provincial governments. This is how we can present a strong and unified voice during trade negotiations and at international institutions.

Unity of purpose on the world stage has allowed Canada to become a globally competitive force.

The inclusion of civil society in the FTAA process is an important test for our hemisphere. Our aim should be to engage our citizens in this historic dialogue and to ensure that their voices are heard, shared and ultimately reflected, so that we can build a true sense of community in the Americas.

### **Business Facilitation**

Our fourth challenge is to make it easier to conduct business across the hemisphere, and to usher in this reform early in the process. Our goal should be to make it as easy for a Quebec firm to do business in Argentina as in the United States.

This work on business facilitation is not always glamorous; indeed, it is highly technical. But it is critical to expanding the flow of trade and investment among our economies, and central to the day-to-day reality of doing business in this hemisphere.

In other words, it is intended to improve matters for you, the actual practitioners of trade and commerce in this hemisphere. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the focus of current work — on improving customs procedures and enhancing transparency in government regulations — is based on the recommendations of our business communities.

I am pleased to say that our chief negotiators are making solid progress in both areas, and that we are well on our way to having a package of customs and transparency measures ready for adoption at the November Ministerial meeting.

Our success on business facilitation is important for achieving the concrete progress mandated by Leaders and Ministers for the year 2000. By cutting red tape in priority areas such as customs procedures, we can demonstrate early, practical results from the FTAA and at the same time can help generate the added momentum which is so crucial for the road ahead.

### **The FTAA and the WTO Round**

Fifth and finally, as the Seattle meeting of WTO Ministers approaches, and with it the probable launch of a new round of multilateral negotiations, a significant question mark is the impact of these negotiations on the FTAA.



Given the five years of intensive preparatory work that we have undertaken in the FTAA process and its importance to the hemisphere, it is unlikely that members will simply wish to put the FTAA on hold while awaiting the outcome in Geneva. We all remember how long the Uruguay Round lasted!

At the same time, however, we recognize that carrying out two major sets of negotiations simultaneously may strain resources, particularly for the smaller economies in the FTAA process.

I expect that as negotiations unfold in Geneva, we in the Americas will be able to focus at the FTAA table on areas where we can demonstrate leadership to the rest of the world — just as some of our achievements in the NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] were later picked up multilaterally in the Uruguay Round results.

We should also be able to use the FTAA process to put our shared interests in the Americas onto the multilateral agenda. I would hope, for example, that the hemisphere will speak out, both in Toronto and Seattle, for the early removal of agricultural export subsidies.

From our perspective, regional and multilateral efforts at trade liberalization are two sides of the same coin.

Regional initiatives can help prepare domestic industries and generate political impetus for the multilateral trade agenda. Our challenge is to harness the creative synergies from the FTAA and WTO processes so that they are mutually reinforcing, for the benefit of all our citizens.

## Conclusion

In closing, let me say that the initiative to liberalize trade in this hemisphere is both ambitious and historic. It has created excitement and passion. But we are under no illusion about the challenges before us. We need to be realistic as well as confident about the opportunities awaiting us.

The FTAA will require commitment from all of us. And that commitment cannot waver. Nor can we wait for the perfect time, because there *is* no perfect time. We must seize *this* time and *this* opportunity.

The ancient dream of Bolivar and others to fashion the Americas into one of the greatest regions in the world is closer now than it has ever been. Do we have the will to complete our unfinished task?

I believe that we do, and that we can build a richer, freer and more prosperous hemisphere for all our peoples.

Thank you.

Gracias muchos exitos a todos.



# Statement

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/39

JOINT STATEMENT BY

CANADIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER LLOYD AXWORTHY

AND

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

OTTAWA, Ontario  
June 3, 1999  
(5:00 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



We are pleased to announce that U.S. and Canadian negotiators have reached a historic agreement on the elements of a ten-year accord to conserve and manage Pacific salmon. The agreement represents a victory for all those on both sides of the border interested in salmon conservation and the long-term viability of our salmon industries.

The comprehensive agreement, reached through vigorous diplomacy among the responsible parties, is designed to ensure the sustainability of the five Pacific salmon species through a combination of scientific co-operation, new funds to improve fisheries management and aid recovery of weakened salmon stocks, and necessary limits on salmon catches. The agreement is based upon a recognition in both countries that co-operation is essential if our common interest in the conservation of the salmon is to be protected.

We congratulate U.S. and Canadian negotiators, James Pipkin and Donald McRae, for their fine work. We also thank those whose leadership was crucial to the resolution of this long-standing dispute: Canadian Minister of Fisheries and Oceans David Anderson, Senior White House Representative on Pacific Salmon Lloyd Cutler, U.S. Governors Tony Knowles (D-AK), Gary Locke (D-WA) and John Kitzhaber (D-OR), and the leaders of the 24 Treaty Indian tribes.

We pledge to conclude and implement this landmark agreement as soon as possible, and to further this spirit of co-operation in U.S.–Canada relations.

# Statement

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/40

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS

BY THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

TO THE G-8 FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING

COLOGNE, Germany  
June 9, 1999  
(4:30 P.M. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



Over the past few days, we have, together, brought about the beginning of the end of the Kosovo conflict.

Kosovo is a good illustration of the human security crisis that the world is facing at the end of this century, and marks a turning point in global affairs, where the security of people figures prominently as an impetus for action.

At its core, the human security agenda is an effort to construct a global society in which the safety of people is an international priority and a motivating force for international action; where international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web protecting the individual; where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and where our global, regional and bilateral institutions are designed and equipped to enhance and enforce these standards.

Eighty-plus percent of the conflicts in recent years have been intra-state conflicts. Ninety percent of the casualties are civilians — and more often than not, they are the deliberate targets of violence. Consider the impact on children alone of the past decade's violent conflicts:

- two million children killed;
- four million children disabled;
- one million children orphaned;
- 10 million children psychologically scarred by the trauma of abduction, expulsion, rape, detention, dismemberment and other violent horrors.

In our global age, the victims are no longer remote from us — television brings them into our lives in the most direct and intimate way. What this means for us is that human security is not just a foreign policy idea, but a political imperative, placed on all our agendas by the weight of public opinion. Nothing has reinforced public support for Canada's policy on Kosovo more than the anguished faces of refugees flowing across Kosovo's borders. The citizens of the countries around this table are largely unaffected by these threats, but human security stands for the values they share.

And while our own citizens are protected from the kind of physical abuse perpetrated in Kosovo, they are not entirely shielded from threats to their own security. They often find themselves unwilling victims of environmental degradation, transnational crime, the international drug trade, and even terrorism.

Tomorrow, we will meet with the representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Group of 77. Human security — the security of their people — will be a major concern for them. We need to engage them because they are part of the solution.

The human security concept raises a number of profound foreign policy issues, among them the reality that foreign policy is no longer the exclusive domain of governments. The reality is that new partnerships between certain states, non-governmental



organizations and other non-state actors have brought about the emergence of new instruments such as the Draft Protocol on the Rights of Children, the International Criminal Court, and the Landmines Treaty.

These new instruments demonstrate in concrete terms the fact that human security is no longer simply a theoretical construct — it is becoming a new norm of international behaviour, where the security of the person is at the centre of our attention and care.

As it gains a new weight in international affairs, human security raises contradictions with existing norms.

Some are concerned that there is a tension between national security and human security. In fact, the two concepts are complementary, not mutually exclusive. Sovereignty and the security of the state are not ends in themselves, but rather are means of ensuring the security and well-being of the citizens of the state. In this sense, human security and national security are mutually supportive. In fact, improving the human security of its people strengthens a state's legitimacy, stability and security.

Human security is also going to have to be reconciled with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states. Kosovo illustrates this particular contradiction well.

None of us around the NATO table saw, or sees, any strategic advantage to intervening in Kosovo. No oil or other vital minerals are at stake. No commanding height or ocean choke point is at issue. There is no scientific knowledge to control. All there is, is a relatively poor population in a relatively poor part of Europe being abused by its own government — that, not some cold calculus of *realpolitik*, was the reason for action.

NATO's decision to act was not taken lightly. But the evidence of atrocities was undeniable, as the reports of Mrs. Ogata and Mr. De Mello attest, and as the indictment of the Serb leadership for war crimes confirms.

Still, the intervention raises questions, not least in the United Nations Security Council.

The Security Council has not been as relevant as we need it to be in the very changed and very dangerous world in which we live. We will discuss its role in preventing conflicts in the next part of our agenda. However, we also need to consider how the UN Security Council must adapt to the new realities in order to protect people better. That is why Canada introduced the issue of Civilians in Armed Conflict in February of this year, and requested that Secretary General Annan study the issue and make recommendations regarding how the council can better promote the security of people.

No one, least of all the country with the smallest population represented here, is promoting a world in which the strong intervene where they will and the weak suffer what they must. The norm of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states remains basic to international peace and security, and the intervention in Kosovo must not be held up as a precedent justifying intervention anywhere, anytime, or for any reason.

However, in cases of extreme abuse, as we have seen in Kosovo and Rwanda, among others, the concept of national sovereignty cannot be absolute.

Clearly, tests and standards need to be established by which the necessity, or not, of international enforcement of a human security standard can be judged. And these tests must be very demanding. One obvious standard is the perpetration of genocide or other crimes against humanity.

The point is that times are changing, and the UN Security Council cannot stand aside in the face of the outrages we have seen in a variety of violent disputes — for example, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Angola. In states that have failed due to the oppression of a dictator or the actions of a warlord, there must be a new test of accountability, and that new test is human security.

The new norm exists — now the United Nations and other international organizations must rise to the challenge of enhancing and enforcing that norm. This means following through on instruments that are already in place, such as genocide conventions and the International Criminal Court. But it also means developing instruments, such as the ILO's Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the EU's Joint Action Plan on Small Arms, and the Lyon Group's pioneering work on a Transnational Organized Crime.

Adapting to these new realities, however, means that we must first understand fully the implications of our action in Kosovo. We welcome the German government's offer to host a meeting in December 1999 on conflict prevention, but should also take the opportunity to consider what we need to be doing when prevention fails. To this end, I would like to propose today that we establish a working group of the G-8 to examine the lessons learned from Kosovo, and report back to ministers in advance of the December meeting. I would further propose that once ministers have the opportunity to discuss these lessons learned, that we convey our findings to the United Nations Security Council.

Vaclav Havel recently observed that, "...the sovereignty of the community, the region, the nation, the state... makes sense only if it is derived from the one genuine sovereignty — that is, from the sovereignty of the human being." In a similar vein, I

believe that peace and security — national, regional and global — are only achievable if they are built upon human security.

Many of the underlying issues of human security are not new, but their significance in a global era is new. The G-8 governments represent most of the largest economies on Earth — countries with the ability and therefore the responsibility to lead. This group does not have a monopoly on ideas, and none of us would claim otherwise. But we can put issues on the international agenda. The prominent place that we are giving to human security in our own proceedings gives us a very important lead on what I am persuaded has become a very major issue for all of us.

Thank you.



International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/41

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE  
HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI,  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE,  
TO THE BUSINESS NETWORKING LUNCHEON  
CO-HOSTED BY  
THE IRELAND-CANADA BUSINESS ASSOCIATION  
AND THE CANADIAN EMBASSY

DUBLIN, Ireland  
June 14, 1999  
(10:15 a.m. EDT)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada





The ties between our two countries are strong, rooted in shared experiences of the past and inspired by common hopes for the future.

Canada owes a great deal to Ireland. From the labour that helped to build many of our cities, to the literature, songs and dance that helped to create a unique Canadian culture, to the sons of Ireland who left to become fathers of our Confederation, Ireland has given much to my country.

Indeed, the Irish presence was so strong in Canada that at one point, a private member's bill was introduced in the Senate that would have made the Irish language one of our official languages.

I might also point out that two Canadian prime ministers, Lester Pearson and Brian Mulroney, were of Irish descent.

More recently, Canada has been trying its best to repay you for the rich cultural legacy that you have given us. And we are delighted that performers such as Céline Dion, Shania Twain, Alanis Morissette and Loreena McKennitt have been so well received here in Ireland.

But if our relationship is rooted in history, our future is tied to commerce. And so today, it is my great pleasure to be part of a business mission to your beautiful country, a mission that coincides with Prime Minister Chrétien's official visit to Ireland.

The purpose of this mission is straightforward: we want to do more business with Ireland. Of course, we begin from a solid base: two-way trade between us last year stood at \$1.5 billion, a 100 percent increase since 1995.

And Canada is a major investor in Ireland. In fact, there is more than \$8 billion of Canadian investment here. Thirty-nine Canadian firms have established operations in Ireland, including some of our leading companies, such as Corel, Nortel Networks, JetForm, Saturn Solutions, ATI, Scotiabank and the Bank of Montreal.

And just recently, Worldwide Fiber Inc. of Vancouver announced an exciting project to install the world's first transatlantic cable system with a direct landing in Dublin. More than 120 service and operation jobs will be created here in Ireland.

The focus of our mission is on sectors that offer the best potential for Canadian companies, such as telecommunications, information technology, software development, agri-food, construction, building materials, environmental services, medical and health products, and culture.

We are also showcasing our cultural sector, and later today you will have the chance to sample some of that culture when Natalie MacMaster and Ron Hynes perform at Whelans.



We know that there is still tremendous untapped potential in our relationship. In particular, we want to address the imbalance in investment. While Irish investment in Canada is on the rise, it amounts to just \$400 million, and we think that this should rise significantly in the coming years.

Let me tell you why.

Just as Ireland stands as a gateway to the European Union, Canada stands as a gateway to the vast North American market. Through our membership in the NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement], companies settling in Canada have preferred access to the richest market in the world — a market of US\$500 billion per year.

And that market is expanding. Last year, for example, the increase in our sales to Mexico and the United States — just the increase, mind you — was more than triple our total sales to Japan, our second-largest export destination.

And there is no reason why Irish companies can't participate in this booming, lucrative market.

We see Canada as your natural springboard into North America. And, with one coast touching the Pacific, Canada is a natural doorstep to Asia too. Canada also stands as a solid bridge to Latin America. By 2005, the Americas will be the largest free trade zone in the world, with 800 million people and a combined GDP [gross domestic product] of \$9 trillion.

But then, you would expect me to trumpet Canada.

Consider the facts:

A new study by the international consulting firm KPMG shows that Canada has the lowest business costs of any G-7 nation. I hope you saw the article in *The Sunday Business Post* two weeks ago that talked about the KPMG study and outlined the cost advantages that Canada has to offer.

Significantly for Ireland, the second-largest exporter of software in the world, Canada's cost advantages were most pronounced in the knowledge-intensive advanced software sector. Here, costs were more than 14 percent below those of the United States.

For a software firm with 100 employees, that means savings of US\$1.6 million every year.

Canada is also the location for low-cost research and development, with the best R&D tax credit regime in the G-7. And contrary to the myth that Canada is a high-tax environment,

the KPMG study found that our corporate tax rates are actually the second-lowest in the G-7.

Of course, overall economic considerations are as important as low business costs, and here, too, Canada offers an attractive environment. Our economy is growing strongly, producing jobs at the highest rate of all G-7 nations. Interest rates are low, and inflation is virtually non-existent.

We have put our fiscal house in order, reducing our federal deficit from more than \$40 billion to zero in just six years, prompting a leading U.S. magazine to write about the "Maple Leaf Miracle" and *The Economist* to call us a "Fiscal Virtuoso."

Canada is also a choice place in which to live. For five consecutive years, the United Nations Development Index has ranked Canada as the number one country in the world in which to live.

So if you want to participate in the vast North American market and to do so at a lower cost than in the United States, think of Canada.

We believe that the many similarities between Canada and Ireland make us natural partners, and we see tremendous opportunities for strategic alliances. This is particularly true for small and medium-sized enterprises.

We are working very hard to encourage more of our smaller firms to begin exporting. And their teaming up with smaller Irish companies can bring benefits to both sides.

Irish companies will find Canadian firms leading the world in areas that you might not expect. While many still view Canada as a resource-based economy, the fact is that the percentage of Canadian exports attributable to commodities has fallen from about 60 percent in 1980 to just 35 percent in 1997. This amounts to only 12 percent of our GDP.

Canada today is a high-tech economy, well positioned to compete in the emerging opportunities of the information age and well suited to combine forces with Ireland.

In closing, let me say that the world has watched with admiration as Ireland has transformed itself, over a 20-year period, into the fastest-growing economy in Europe. Along the way, Ireland has been enormously successful in establishing itself as a magnet for international investment.

Now, perhaps, the time has come for Ireland to look beyond Europe, to expand its frontiers and its fortunes by looking west to the richest marketplace in the world. And as you do so, you will find, waiting on the other side of the Atlantic, an old friend and a strong ally.

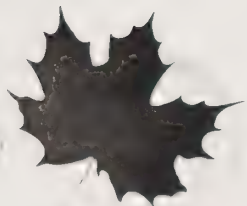




An Irish proverb reminds us that “a good beginning is half the work.” The strong ties of our past have provided us with that beginning. Let us now continue our work.

Let us continue to expand trade and investment. Let us form the partnerships that will allow both of our nations to prosper in new and exciting markets. And let us unite the “Celtic Tiger” and the “Maple Leaf Miracle” as never before.

Thank you.



International Trade  
Commerce international

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/42

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE SERGIO MARCHI  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
TO THE CANADA-BELGIUM-LUXEMBOURG  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
AND THE  
FEDERATION OF BELGIAN COMPANIES

BRUSSELS, Belgium  
June 16, 1999  
(8:30 a.m. EDT)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



I am delighted to be in Brussels — a city built by trade, fashioned by artisans and steeped in history: a city that for hundreds of years has been one of the great commercial centres of Europe.

As you know, one of the reasons I have come to Europe is to meet with the Vice- President of the European Commission, Sir Leon Brittan, to discuss Canada's economic relationship with the European Union (EU).

One of the great strengths in Canada's approach to the EU is that we put as much stock in our relationships with individual countries as we do with the EU as a whole.

And that is certainly true of our relationship with Belgium and Luxembourg. Those of you in this room know that better than most. You are doing outstanding work to promote greater trade and investment between Canada and Belgium and Luxembourg, and I want you to know that your efforts are appreciated.

Two-way trade between Canada and Belgium is a strong \$2.5 billion per year. Trade with Luxembourg stands at \$209 million — quadrupling in just the past three years.

Like you, we are great believers that investment benefits both sides. When Canadian companies such as GEAC Computers and Bombardier invest in Belgium and Luxembourg, they create jobs and opportunities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Likewise, when your companies such as Tractebel or On-line come to Canada, they contribute to the Canadian economy while generating growth here at home.

And so we are very excited about the prospects for increased trade and investment with both Belgium and Luxembourg.

When Canadians look to Belgium, Luxembourg and the other nations of the EU, we see many familiar reflections. Our roots are buried deep in European soil and we have always valued that great heritage.

And I can say without hesitation that Canada considers the EU not just as a destination for our exports or a source of investment, but as a partner in the cause of freer trade.

There are few nations that have the capacity to provide leadership to address the challenges of trade liberalization. Canada and the members of the EU are among those that do.

Working separately, we can both make important contributions to the next round of multilateral trade negotiations. But working together, in partnership, we can make a greater impact — putting forward the creative ideas needed to strengthen WTO rules, further reduce duties on goods, expand the coverage of services and incorporate the views of civil society.



In those efforts, one of our most important tasks is to encourage other nations to stay the course of freer trade — especially when, in times of economic turmoil, they might be tempted to retrench behind protectionist walls.

Canada and the EU need to demonstrate — not only through words, but by actions — our commitment to trade liberalization as the best means of fostering growth and creating jobs.

So far, we have both done this well in our relations with others. Canada, for example: through our free trade agreements with the United States, Mexico, Chile and Israel and through our pursuit of a Free Trade Area of the Americas; through our negotiation of a free trade agreement with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries, and through our accelerated tariff liberalization within APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum].

The EU, too, has worked hard to advance trade liberalization, through its expansion into central and eastern Europe, its customs union with Turkey, its free trade agreement with Israel and its preferential trade regime with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

But frankly, we have not done as good a job in our relations with one another. And while it is true that we have signed a number of important agreements — covering everything from science and technology to nuclear research and customs enforcement — the fact is that we have done little to improve the conditions of market access for one another.

Indeed, Canada is one of the few countries still subject to the EU's full common customs tariff.

So while the EU is Canada's second-largest trade and investment partner, with two-way trade at an impressive \$44 billion annually, there is still much, much more we can and must do together.

Canada stands ready to enlarge and enrich that relationship. Indeed, as the EU explores new transatlantic links with the United States, Mexico and Mercosur, we want you to know that there is another country on the other side of the Atlantic whose doors are open and whose advantages are many.

Just as Belgium offers a gateway to the European Union, Canada stands as a strategic gateway to the vast North American market. Through our membership in the NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement], companies settling in Canada have preferred access to the richest trade market in the world — over US\$500 billion per year.

And with one coast touching the Pacific, Canada is also a natural doorway to Asia. And we are intimately involved in Latin America, both bilaterally and through our role as chair of the negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas — which eventually will be the largest

free trade zone in the world, with a market of 800 million people and a combined GDP of \$9 trillion.

And our international reach is matched by a strong and competitive economy at home.

Consider the facts:

A new study by the international consulting firm KPMG shows that Canada has the lowest business costs of any G-7 nation.

Canada is also *the* location for low-cost research and development, with the best R&D tax credit regime in the G-7.

And contrary to the myth that Canada is a high-tax environment, the KPMG study found that our corporate tax rates are actually the second lowest in the G-7.

Of course, overall economic considerations are as important as low business costs, and here, too, Canada offers an attractive environment. Our economy is growing, producing jobs at the highest rate of all G-7 nations, with low interest rates and inflation that is virtually non-existent.

We have put our fiscal house in order, reducing our federal deficit from more than \$40 billion to zero in just six years, prompting *Newsweek* to write about the "Maple Leaf Miracle" and *The Economist* to call us a "Fiscal Virtuoso."

One of the reasons that many Europeans may overlook opportunities in Canada could be because of an outdated image of the Canadian economy. Many still think of Canada as a land of lakes and trees — a resource-based economy ruled by Mounties and populated by hockey players. Well, that's a nice image, but it's also a little dated.

The reality is that Canada is a high-tech, knowledge-based economy, well positioned to compete in the emerging opportunities of the information age.

Indeed, the percentage of Canadian exports attributable to commodities has fallen from about 60 percent in 1980 to just 35 percent in 1997. This amounts to only 12 percent of our GDP! Eighty-eight percent of everything we produce is focussed on the new, knowledge-based economy.

So don't let perceptions formed in the past prevent you from participating in the opportunities of the future. When you think of participating in the vast North American market, a large red maple leaf should come to your mind.

We want to make these advantages known to our European friends and partners because Canada is committed to liberalizing transatlantic trade.

Indeed, as I mentioned earlier, we are currently negotiating a free trade agreement with the four nations of EFTA, which we hope to complete later this fall.

At the last Canada–EU summit, in December, we agreed to a number of initiatives to enhance trade and economic co-operation. Already we are seeing the first fruits of that initiative.

Tomorrow we will sign an agreement on competition policy, and this evening I will join Sir Leon Brittan at the first meeting of the Canada–EU Roundtable, which will provide a forum for European business leaders to offer their input on facilitating trade and investment between us.

The bottom line is that the EU matters to Canada. But I also want to ensure that Canada matters to the EU. We simply cannot afford to remain in the EU's peripheral vision.

Quite frankly, this is often a challenge. Indeed, in recent years, the EU is importing a smaller percentage of Canadian goods and we are receiving a smaller percentage of your direct investment abroad.

And whether it is EU action on regulating genetically modified organisms, or the administration of its wine industry, or the common agricultural policy it has adopted, Canadian exporters have often been the ones to pay the price.

Of course, trade — including its irritants — is a two-way street and there are concerns on your side as well. We understand that some European exporters have occasional frustrations with Canadian policies, and we stand ready to discuss these — we hope in the context of an effort to improve market access for both sides.

But when you consider the significant and growing trade surplus that the EU consistently runs with Canada, the numbers tell the story.

There is a clear need to change the script and extend the limits of the current frontiers.

Indeed, I believe the time has come for a new vision for Canada–EU relations, based on clear-eyed assessments of the opportunities before us.

We need, for example, to consider how we can animate and deepen our economic partnership. Do we keep on the same track of “action plans,” or do we pursue a direct Canada–EU free trade agreement that would greatly facilitate and increase our trade and investment traffic?

Or, better still, as our Prime Minister has long advocated, and as he reiterated yesterday in Dublin, why can't we aspire to a NAFTA-EU trade relationship where Europe can deal with one large and integrated market rather than negotiating separately with the individual countries of North America?

I believe the time has come for a new relationship between Europe and North America. And the timing couldn't be better. Economically, North America and Europe are leading the world as we head into the new millennium.

Moreover, the EU has just chosen a new president and elected a new parliament. Let us embrace this time of renewal to reinvigorate our relationship.

And let us ensure that when people refer to Canada-EU, it is not only as a recollection of past glories, but as a recognition of future possibilities.

Indeed, let us inspire a new generation that believes that our relationship will become all that it might and will achieve all that it should.

Thank you.





# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/43

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE EMPIRE CLUB

TORONTO, Ontario  
June 28, 1999  
(2:15 p.m. EDT)





Back home last week after a nightmare that forced him to flee his house, that separated him from his family, that destroyed his possessions, Rifat Morina, a Kosovo Albanian, thought he was safe. Safe to rebuild his life, safe to find his wife and children, and safe to look, however tentatively, to the future.

However, in an instant, he was denied even this meagre hope. Mr. Morina stepped on a landmine. He lost his leg, leaving him maimed forever — a brutal, permanent and daily reminder of the human cost of this conflict. Another life senselessly shattered by landmines.

In Kosovo, NATO prevailed over evil. However, Mr. Morina's experience underlines with devastating clarity that for him and hundreds of thousands like him the ordeal is far from over. In their understandable eagerness to return home, many more ordinary people will suffer like Mr. Morina.

Anti-personnel [AP] mines are strewn by the tens of thousands across the countryside, poisoning the land from which Kosovo's people derived their sustenance. They are at once the cruel instrument and the bitter legacy of conflict and hatred.

The dimensions of the threat are staggering — but not surprising nor unprecedented. That is why Canada pushed hard to ensure that demining figured among the priority tasks for KFOR and in reconstruction assistance. Canadian mine-clearing experts are among those now on the ground. The task in Kosovo is dangerous, painstaking and expensive.

The mine action problem in Kosovo is one we have seen all too often — in Bosnia, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Mozambique and many other countries. If Canada showed some leadership in setting an international norm against these weapons, I think we are also trying to show some leadership in how we address the landmine problems that still exist. It is to be hoped that we have learned some lessons in Kosovo and can face the enormous challenge without the horrendous casualties we have seen in so many other places.

Last month, in Mozambique, those who had ratified the treaty held the First Meeting of States Parties; a number of countries who had not yet signed also took part. I hosted a meeting at which we discussed the need for a rapid reaction capacity, co-ordinated by the United Nations, knowing we would face this challenge in Kosovo — and not only there but in Angola, and on the Ethiopia-Eritrea border and in other places where mines are still being used in conflicts.

Out of that meeting Canada and Belgium sponsored a UN mission to Kosovo to do an initial assessment of the mine situation. That has resulted in the establishment of a UN Mine Action Co-ordination Centre that will co-ordinate the international response. The rapid response priority will be to ensure that refugees can return safely. As a first step, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade will send two experienced Canadian organizations that are here today, Wolf's Flat and the Canadian International Demining Centre [CIDC], to work with the UN and the international community to be part of that



emergency response. Wolf's Flat has recently completed a project clearing unexploded ordnance in Panama, and the CIDC is currently doing mine clearance in Bosnia.

I have also asked our ambassador for mine action to be in Kosovo this week to help raise awareness of the mine problem amongst refugees and to talk to the military, other NGOs, the UN and local people to get an assessment of where Canada can best play a role.

Kosovo's experience renews the urgency of the global landmines challenge. The situation in Kosovo mirrors the plight of millions the world over. It underscores the original impetus behind the Ottawa Process. It makes clear the need to sustain our efforts to defeat this deadly weapon. Since the conclusion of the Ottawa Convention we have made progress:

- One hundred and thirty-five countries have foresworn the use of AP mines, and 82 countries have already ratified the Convention.
- The number of mine victims in some of the world's most severely affected countries is declining.
- The once-flourishing trade in AP mines has all but vanished: fewer than 10 of the world's mine-producing countries do not support a comprehensive moratorium or de facto ban on the export of AP mines.
- Since 1996, when the Ottawa Process began, 20 countries have destroyed more than 14 million stockpiled mines. These are mines that will never take a life or a limb.
- Resources for mine action are increasing: in the past year alone, 10 donor countries have initiated 98 new mine action programs in 25 countries.

From the outset, the campaign to ban landmines was a new kind of partnership among governments, international organizations, civil society and individuals. This co-operation has contributed to the achievements we have made so far. And it is this combined energy and resources that will get us to our ultimate goal of a world without landmines.

Canadians have played a major role in the process. In what has already been accomplished there is much of which we, collectively, can be proud. The Government of Canada pledged \$100 million over five years for mine action.

But governments cannot do it alone. Individuals and groups of Canadians must continue to be active in pursuing landmine activities. That is why I am pleased to be here today to launch the Canadian Landmine Foundation. Its aim is to create a sustaining fund to which individuals and corporations can contribute to help eradicate landmines and ease the human suffering they cause. It will encourage Canadians to maintain the lead and set the

example for demining efforts across the globe. I am also announcing today a \$1 million contribution from the Government of Canada to the Canadian Landmine Foundation as seed funding. The Foundation plans to raise significant amounts of money; it is committed to raising over \$2 million from individuals and the private sector this year.

Our involvement in the landmines campaign is part of Canadians' broader, traditional commitment to global peace and security. Engagement in the world is bred in the bone. Canadians consistently rate our activities and success abroad as an important indicator of how we define ourselves.

This global involvement is based on enduring values. These are the same values we, and generations of Canadians before us, have used to build a unique, prosperous and free country: democracy, human rights, and respect for diversity and civil society.

In a changing world, these values are more relevant than ever. Indeed, they form the basis of the human security approach I have advanced for Canada's foreign policy, an approach that puts new emphasis on the security and well-being of people.

The truth is that globalization and the end of the Cold War have put human security more clearly at the forefront of international concern. Civilians are directly, and increasingly, the main targets and tools of modern armed conflict. Ordinary people are the immediate victims of terrorism, crime, illicit drugs, environmental degradation and infectious disease — threats that respect no borders. The information age brings these realities directly into all our lives, underscoring our common destiny.

In response, there is clearly a new global dynamic emerging that puts the security of people — individual rights, dignity and well-being — at the centre of the international agenda.

The Ottawa Convention, the way we dealt with the landmine issue, changed thinking about how we could deal with humanitarian crises. It was a novel, people-based approach to disarmament that took aim directly at weapons that cause the most damage to individuals.

The Ottawa Process is only one example of the human security agenda at work. Canada is active in other areas. It is participating in global and regional action to confront the threat of small arms and light military weapons; to fight the scourge of illicit drugs; and to improve the condition of children (the most at risk) — whether as child soldiers, exploited labour, or victims of the global and cyber-sex trades.

By dealing with existing and emerging threats, these initiatives advance human security. They need to be complemented by efforts to deter abuse from occurring in the first place, and to set new standards of global behaviour.

For that, full accountability is key. This was a point I made a year ago in Rome at the opening of negotiations for the creation of the International Criminal Court. With Canadian leadership, the Statute of the Court was agreed. The International Criminal Court was a bold step forward. It will hold accountable those responsible for crimes against humanity and the most extreme violations of humanitarian law. It is part of an effort to advance and consolidate the rule of international law to protect individuals from the darker side of human nature.

Which brings me to our involvement in Kosovo. The Alliance's intervention was an important step in the ascendance of human security as a norm for global action. With its NATO allies, Canada was galvanized to act not from a cold calculus of realpolitik but from a wish to defend the simple right of people to live in peace and security in the face of a vicious spiral of premeditated murder, terror and brutality.

The military option for Kosovo was not chosen lightly. Still, it shows that sometimes, when other means have failed, when inaction is unacceptable and the humanitarian imperative to act is clearly evident, it may be the only option — and it is a justifiable one.

Canadians were right to act in Kosovo. Underlining this is the action taken by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, indicting the Serb leadership for war crimes. New, daily revelations of the atrocities and appalling brutality committed against Kosovo's Albanians confirm it.

However, Kosovo must not be held up as a precedent justifying intervention anywhere, any time or for any reason. It raises serious and legitimate questions. Most evident is the challenge of reconciling emerging norms of human security with norms of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs of states — still a basic tenet of global peace and security.

Standards and limits need to be worked out against which the necessity or not of intervention can be judged — and the criteria must be very demanding. This is where the Security Council needs to play a central leadership role. As the only global instrument for ensuring peace and security, it needs to be fully engaged — not absent — in this process. The views of some of its members have made it less relevant and flexible than it should be in adapting to the new global realities.

As a Security Council member, Canada has been trying to integrate the human dimension into Council activities. For example, last February we proposed, and other members accepted, examining concrete steps the Council could take to focus attention and action on protecting civilians in armed conflict.



The safety of people is at the forefront of international concern. The human security agenda is a modern Canadian response based on traditional Canadian values. It is also a means of promoting and advancing Canadian interests.

In an interconnected world, sooner or later the insecurity of others becomes our problem — and sometimes our insecurity. A human security approach is therefore not only desirable but increasingly indispensable. For Canadians, human security means a safer, less expensive and more receptive world.

We are perhaps the most travelled people in the world. Every year, Canadians take close to 20 million trips abroad as tourists or students or, like many of you, for business. That means Canadians are vulnerable. A global society based on the rule of law, with effective means to combat terrorism and international crime and corruption, protects the security of Canadians.

Far-off conflicts that do not directly affect us are not cost-free for Canadians. We provide tremendous resources every year to support refugee and humanitarian relief programs to help the victims of conflict. Add to this the incalculable cost of Canadian investments in people and infrastructure that are lost as a result of armed conflict; for example, the Sudanese conflict costs over \$1 million a day in humanitarian assistance. Multiply that by the number of conflicts around the world, and the cost-effectiveness of human security — especially preventive efforts — becomes more apparent.

Our prosperity requires global stability. Much of our economic growth is generated by international trade and investment. This depends on a world where people are secure and globalization works. We collectively ignore the human dimension of free trade and open markets at our peril — as we have seen in Asia.

The ongoing political turmoil in other areas of the world, notably in Africa, also prevents local populations from developing and realizing their economic potential. This affects not only local populations but Canadians too, who pay a price for the insecurity through reduced opportunities and lost markets for our products and investments. In short, the human security agenda promotes Canadians' interests — including the Canadian corporate bottom line.

Canadians live in a world that is vastly, irrevocably different from the one we lived in even a decade ago. In the face of change, I believe Canadians would prefer to embrace it and put our distinctive stamp on the new global order, rather than let others define our place in the world.

By all accounts, human security is something that strikes a chord with the Canadian public. According to recent polling, Canadians have never been more confident about our place in the world: 80 percent believe we have more influence today than 30 years ago; 64 percent



feel more proud of Canada's international role today than five years ago; 68 percent rate our international relations a top priority for the Canadian government.

I attribute this to the fact that the human security agenda both reflects long-standing Canadian values and promotes Canadians' fundamental interests. It is, in essence, the global expression of the Canadian experience and the principles we cherish.

If the United States is the indispensable nation, I like to think of Canada as the value-added nation. Human security is the application abroad of the talents of accommodation, tolerance and mutual respect — talents we have used to build a strong, unified country where all Canadians can thrive and prosper.

As a Canadian, I am committed to upholding these principles and promoting these talents. All Canadians can play a part. As the response to the landmines campaign has demonstrated, it is a role Canadians welcome with imagination and enthusiasm. The creation of the Canadian Landmine Foundation carries on this tradition, one to which I hope you will contribute.

Thank you.

# Statement

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

99/44

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
AT THE  
ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM



SINGAPORE  
July 26, 1999  
(5:45 p.m. EDT)





I was encouraged by the strong statement on weapons proliferation contained in the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] communiqué. I must tell you frankly that I am becoming concerned. Central to security for us all is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Yet, very disturbing differences of opinion have emerged at preparatory committees.

The nuclear testing in South Asia is leading some countries that previously had a capacity for nuclear weapons and have renounced it to question the point of having done so. Not very substantial progress is being made on the reduction of nuclear weapons.

Similarly, on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) we face difficulties too: 44 ratifications are needed to make it work. Some 10 ASEAN Regional Forum [ARF] members are among the 44 who must ratify the treaty for it to enter into force, but only 3 have done so. Once again, we have a treaty that is central to establishing a framework for controlling and deterring nuclear weapons development, and yet it is stalled.

There is a significant role to be played by the ARF because of the strategic positions occupied by some of its members. But they are not occupying these positions with the fervour, or the energy, or the action that I think is required.

I take, at this point, the fairly pessimistic view that some of these very important treaties and agreements could be undermined and eroded unless some real action is taken in the next couple of years.

I see around the table certain ministers who have represented countries — whether at the Non-Aligned Movement or at the Group of 77 or in other fora — that have taken the lead in the past on these issues. Yet, I do not think that leadership is being exercised in the same way today. We have just finished a discussion on the potential of missile testing by North Korea. We must make progress in developing a broad multilateral regime for missile technology control or face some very serious consequences.

I listened with great interest to the statement by Minister Singh on India's commitments to follow through on United Nations Resolution 1172. I think it is worth taking some encouragement from his statement, because I think it is crucial that both India and Pakistan actively acquit their obligations. Domestic political considerations are always a factor, but I am encouraged by these words, which have to be lived up to with real action.

In a different way, this is also true of the nuclear weapons states themselves. I address Russia and the United States, who are around the table here. I again take some comfort in the fact that President Yeltsin and President Clinton have reaffirmed their interest in coming to grips with the nuclear weapons issue. The START II ratification and the START III negotiations are absolutely essential if we are to have an NPT review conference next year that has momentum. There needs to be some demonstration of progress in these areas.



I also want to speak for a moment about an issue that is at the other end of the spectrum but that, to my mind, is equally dangerous: the proliferation of small arms. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has said that the most prolific killer in the world today is a 14-year-old with an AK-47. More people are being killed by small arms around the world, and there is still a huge market for these weapons.

I recently returned from a visit to Africa. What you see happening there today in Angola, Central African Republic, the Congo, Sierra Leone and Sudan, to name only a few, is the terrible impact of small arms. Combined with the recruitment of children into armies, the proliferation of small arms is one of the most horrendous international transgressions. As I said last night to ARF member states, it is very important for them to address this issue, because I think they can make a contribution. I think the ARF is the one regional organization that has not yet fully dealt with the question of small arms proliferation.

For example, the Organization of American States now has a convention in place, as does the European Union. Other regions are also working on conventions. The Organization for African Unity and the Southern African Association for Development Co-operation are beginning to develop conventions dealing with the proliferation of small weapons.

We applaud Malaysia for introducing a motion at the Security Council dealing with disarmament and the reintegration of demobilized soldiers. I think the small arms issue has become very much part of those issues. In your chairman's statement, I think it is important to reflect the urgency of the issue, but also the energy that individual member states could bring to it.

This is a subject for which we have real responsibility as members of the organization. I think that it is really crucial at this meeting, because with these signposts coming up, these crossroads coming up — CTBT meetings in three months, NPT meetings in six months — I don't think that we can continue to tread water in these matters. We have got to show some movement forward.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/45

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE 1999 POST-MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE  
ASEAN-CANADA "TEN-PLUS-ONE" DIALOGUE

SINGAPORE  
July 27, 1999  
(12:30 p.m. EDT)





It is a pleasure to be here today and to take another step in the long, historic and warm relationship between Canada and ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations], in this, the 22nd year of our dialogue relationship. If I have one message to leave with you today, it is that Canada continues to have a high level of interest and engagement in the region and with ASEAN, including responding to the effects of the economic crisis. Last year, Canada provided close to \$100 million in development assistance to the region, but our relationship with ASEAN is much deeper and more important than aid alone.

With the passage of time over these 22 years, Canada's relationship with ASEAN has been changing. This is quite natural. ASEAN itself is changing, with more members, more dialogue partners and the advent of both the ASEAN Regional Forum and APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum] as venues to address issues important to both Canada and the ASEAN countries. One outcome of the enlargement of ASEAN over the past few years is the reality that not all ASEAN members are at or near the same level of development. Some observers have even spoken of a two- or three-tier ASEAN. Be that as it may, we in Canada have concluded that revitalization of the Canada-ASEAN relationship — something we sincerely hope for — needs to acknowledge these differing states and rates of economic development.

Our dialogue will also be revitalized by acknowledging the much richer nature that our relationship has assumed over the years. Twenty-two years ago, our shared interests were mainly in development assistance; now, they have broadened to include the whole range of economic, political and security issues. At the end of this century, as we navigate on the tides of globalization, there is ample opportunity for large and smaller players alike to contribute to the management of international affairs. Globalization means that we are all interconnected, and that brings both benefits and responsibilities.

In the ARF [ASEAN Regional Forum], some have been using the term "comprehensive security" in response to these trends. I have put forth the term "human security," which means seeing security issues differently, and, more broadly, in a way that takes account of new realities. While peace and security between states remains critically important, as governments in this region are well aware, it has become clear that national security alone is insufficient to guarantee the security and safety of our people. A key question for us — both in discussions between ASEAN and all dialogue partners and in the ASEAN-Canada dialogue specifically — is this: in a global era, how can we best enhance the security of our people?

The greatest threats to human security continue to flow from violent conflict. The end of the Cold War was hailed by some as a harbinger of global peace. To some extent, of course, this has been true; reduced tensions between major powers have opened greater prospects for global stability and peace. At the same time, however, we have witnessed the proliferation of intrastate conflicts, a particularly dangerous trend.



It is quite clear that to respond to these challenges, we must revitalize and rework our multilateral organizations, both global and regional. Time and challenge have hobbled these institutions, but the problem is not confined to the institutions themselves. Where they are weak and ineffective, it is partly the result of a lack of political will on the part of member states.

The maintenance of peace and security underpins economic and social progress and lies at the heart of our principal multilateral organization, the United Nations [UN]. The nature of armed conflict has changed in the intervening decades since the United Nations was created. In the First World War, approximately 10 percent of casualties of conflict were civilian. Now, 90 percent of these casualties are civilian. The UN, particularly the Security Council, must adapt to reflect these changes. The issue is not so much the Council's size and composition, but its mandate and effectiveness in ensuring human security.

There is also a need for more effective regional organizations. There can be no doubt that the UN needs regional partners to provide expertise, perspective and commitment, including an effective and vibrant ARF/Post-Ministerial Conference. ASEAN's collective voice needs to be heard in international forums as we consider issues critical to us all, including non-proliferation and disarmament. I think we see the real importance of this in the significant proposals made in the just-completed session of the ARF, such as the proposal for a code of conduct in the South China Seas. Canada is very pleased to have contributed to work in this area, through our support of the Track II seminars on preventing conflict in the South China Seas that have been so ably chaired by Indonesia. We look forward to further fruitful cross-fertilization between Track I and Track II efforts.

Conflict, whether actual or potential, is not the only pressing challenge to the security of our people. Their security is affected by a growing number of transnational threats. In an increasingly interdependent world, we have all become more vulnerable. Open markets, increased world trade and a revolution in communications are highly beneficial, but they have also made borders more porous to a range of threats. The proliferation of small arms, the mass movement of populations, international crime and corruption, and the trafficking of drugs and even of people are just some of the trends that have profoundly negative consequences for us all. Over half the total supply of refined heroin in the world — and the vast majority of the heroin that finds its way onto the streets of Western Canadian cities — comes from the Golden Triangle area. This illicit trade leaves a trail of misery in ASEAN and in Canada. Threats to human security of this kind require multilateral responses, and the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Post-Ministerial Conference should seize the opportunity to address these emerging challenges.

Canada shares many of the priorities outlined in ASEAN's Hanoi Plan of Action — from trade liberalization, to improving respect for human rights, to dealing with the corrosive impacts of transnational crime — and we look forward to working with you to achieve them. In doing so, we will look to approaches that are multifaceted, targeted and flexible enough to be able to recognize the particular needs of individual ASEAN members. It has been encouraging to see ASEAN economies recovering, but the need to address the social impact of the crisis remains. Canada will continue to devote resources to this, helping to ensure that the recovery is sustainable.

Canada is already providing significant assistance to ASEAN in priority areas of development: in 1998-99, a total of \$97 million in bilateral and regional programs. This sum is being used increasingly in innovative ways that reflect the new realities, needs and priorities of ASEAN. In this vein, some of you will, no doubt, be aware of the training symposium earlier this month, here in Singapore, co-hosted by the governments of Singapore and Canada. It brought together senior ASEAN and Canadian civil servants, including the recently retired head of the Canadian public service. This event aimed to strengthen regional capacity to deal with public sector issues in the current economic situation. Similarly, there are the very successful training courses situated here in Singapore, jointly funded and presented by Canada, which provide much-valued English as a second language education for government officials from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

I would also like to highlight briefly a number of other innovative and effective areas of co-operation that do not always get the attention they deserve:

- Canada is appointing a new regional Finance Counsellor this year, to be based in our High Commission in Singapore and to cover all ASEAN countries;
- Canada is funding new co-operative efforts to improve governance and build capacity in Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia and Laos; and
- in the case of East Timor, our development assistance efforts run in tandem with our contributions to improving the security situation, through our contribution to UNAMET [United Nations Mission to East Timor] and our support to the Catholic Bishops' efforts at community reconciliation.

I would like to take this opportunity to welcome Cambodian Foreign Minister Hor as our next country co-ordinator, and extend my congratulations to Cambodia on joining ASEAN. Cambodia's accession represents an historic moment for ASEAN, and not just because it makes the logistics of choosing country co-ordinators for your 10 dialogue partners a great deal simpler! I look forward to signing the exchange of letters by which Cambodia will accede to the Canada-ASEAN Economic Co-operation Agreement, immediately after our meeting today.

Finally, let me say a few words of appreciation to the Philippines, our current dialogue co-ordinator. Foreign Secretary Siazon and his officials have been at the forefront of the international effort to deal with anti-personnel mines, and were welcome participants at the December 1997 Ottawa Conference on this matter. This is another example of a human security issue — one that directly affects the daily lives of people in the region and around the world — that Canada and ASEAN have good reasons to discuss together. The Philippines has also been a most helpful partner in looking at ways to develop and define a new and revitalized Canada-ASEAN relationship. The easy relationship that we have developed at the level of foreign ministers and officials bodes well for the future. We look forward to working with the Philippines, and, looking ahead to next year, with Cambodia, to continue our efforts at revitalization. In this way, we can ensure that the Canada-ASEAN dialogue is in the future, as it has increasingly been in the past, a true reflection of our relationship: wide-ranging, rich and effective.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

99/47

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS  
BY THE  
HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE PAASIKIVI SOCIETY

HELSINKI, Finland  
September 1, 1999



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





Finland, like Canada, has a history of positive engagement in the world. I am therefore honoured to have been invited here by the Paasikivi Society, and pleased to have this opportunity to discuss with you my perception of the global challenges we face, to outline how we are adapting our foreign policy as a result, and to suggest how Canada and Finland might extend our co-operation — in particular with regard to our shared northern frontiers.

The efforts of President Ahtisaari during the Kosovo crisis are a remarkable example of Finland's tradition of service in the interest of peace and security. It is as a result of the agreement he helped to craft that Kosovo's refugees have been able to return home. We are all grateful for President Ahtisaari's contribution, which brings well-deserved credit to him personally and to the people of Finland.

At the height of the conflict, I recall vividly President Ahtisaari's impressive presence at the meeting of G-8 foreign ministers. His unswerving commitment to resolving the crisis was clear, and both his words and deeds served as a powerful inspiration for all of us who believe in the pursuit of peace and justice in an unsettled world.

His efforts were all the more exceptional in that the crisis in Kosovo reflects many of the new realities of conflict in a changing world, while our response marks a crossroads in the management of global affairs.

Central to the new global circumstances is the individual. The security and safety of people — what I call human security — is emerging as a central concern of global affairs, an important motive for concerted global action, and an indispensable link in the continuum that includes national, regional and global security.

There is no doubt that in conflict areas, people suffer most — especially civilians. The rate of victimization is without precedent. Today, more people die in conflicts — increasingly fought within rather than between states — than ever before. More of these people are civilians. And, more and more, these civilians are the direct targets of violence.

Consider the impact on children alone of the past decade's violent conflicts: 2 million killed, 4 million disabled, 1 million orphaned, 10 million psychologically scarred by the trauma of abduction, expulsion, rape, detention or dismemberment.

The threats to human security are not limited to conflict areas. Canadians and Finns may be largely protected from the kind of physical violence prevalent in other parts of the world. Yet our citizens are affected by other transnational threats: the illicit drug trade is taking its toll, especially on our youth; environmental pollution threatens urban and rural populations alike. In the Arctic, for example, toxic waste originating from other parts of the globe is having a serious impact on the health and well-being of our northern population.

At the same time, our security is indivisible from that of our neighbours across the street or across the globe. We share a common destiny. As travellers, donors, traders and investors, and as citizens of countries that are the destination for immigrants and refugees, what happens in other peoples' lives matters to Canadians and Finns.

And in a wired world with real-time images, the face of human suffering is brought directly into our lives with increasing clarity. We share a common humanity. The distress of others is a matter of our own concern.

As a result, we have both an interest in acting and a responsibility to act when human security is at risk. It is in this context that we have been adapting Canadian foreign policy in terms of the issues we address, the methods and institutions we use, and the partnerships we pursue.

One area where the focus on human security is shaping Canada's approach is disarmament and arms control. The campaign to ban anti-personnel mines is perhaps the most well-known example. From the outset, the campaign was driven by the conviction that decisive action was needed to protect the lives and well-being of innocent individuals, ruthlessly swept up in the horrors of war.

In that respect, the Ottawa Process is unique. Its momentum is derived from a commitment to eventually eliminate a weapon that threatens ordinary people in terms of development opportunities forgone, injuries sustained and lives lost.

The measure of its success — and since the signing of the Ottawa treaty there has been continued progress — is likewise calculated in human terms. The number of mine victims is declining; more than 14 million mines have been destroyed, mines that will never take a life or limb; and mine victims are being helped to lead productive lives. To that end, I welcome Finland's significant contribution to these multilateral mine clearance and related humanitarian assistance efforts.

This focus on the human dimension, the tangible human costs, of weapons is similarly at work in efforts to address the challenges posed by small arms and light military weapons. Inexpensive, portable and easy to obtain, these types of weapons abound in conflict zones.

When these weapons fall into the wrong hands, their misuse compounds the misery of civilians, who are overwhelmingly their victims. Urgent attention must be given to the flow and misuse of weapons that terrorize, maim and kill. This has consequently been a focus of Canadian activity at the United Nations and through regional organizations such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, with affected countries and other like-minded countries.



Canada and Finland are already partners in this area. In Northern Ireland, for example, retired Canadian General John de Chastelain and your former Prime Minister and current President of your society, Harri Holkeri, have been involved with the Decommissioning Commission of the Northern Ireland Peace Process — a crucial element in establishing lasting peace.

The way we dealt with the landmines issue, as well as the way we are dealing with small arms and light military weapons, reflects a shift in both thinking and action in traditional areas of global peace and security.

The focus on human security entails efforts to widen the definition to include new challenges to the safety and security of people, such as the scourge of illicit drugs, people trafficking, and the growth in financial crime and corruption. It also entails efforts to address special challenges such as those relating to the world's children, whether as child soldiers, exploited labour or victims of the global and cyber sex trades.

By taking action to deal with existing and emerging threats to people, initiatives in all of these areas attempt to advance human security. They need to be complemented by engagement to prevent abuses from occurring in the first place and to set new standards of global behaviour for the future. For that, full accountability is key.

That is why Canada played an active role in establishing the International Criminal Court. Since a framework agreement to create the Court was reached in Rome last summer, progress has been made in making the Court a reality.

Once in place, it will help deter some of the most serious breaches of humanitarian law, namely genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. It will help give new meaning and global reach to efforts to protect the vulnerable and the innocent.

The UN tribunals and now the International Criminal Court capture the mood of the global community. They send an unmistakable signal to would-be violators: those who commit the most serious breaches of humanitarian law cannot act with impunity. They must answer for their actions.

These two sides of the human security concept — global action to advance it and individual accountability for those who threaten it — were evident in Kosovo. NATO's intervention was an important step in the emergence of human security as a norm for global action. The Alliance was galvanized to act not from a cold calculus of realpolitik but from a wish to defend the simple right of people to live in peace and security in the face of a vicious spiral of premeditated murder, terror and brutality.

The military option for Kosovo was not chosen lightly. Still, the decision demonstrates that, sometimes, when other means have failed, when inaction is unacceptable and the



humanitarian imperative to act is clearly evident, it may be the only option — and it is a justifiable one.

The war crimes indictments handed down by Justice Arbour helped to hasten the end of the Kosovo crisis, by isolating and stigmatizing the Serb leadership. The determined actions of Justice Arbour and the Tribunal demonstrate how concerted efforts can help end the culture of impunity and advance human security goals.

However, as it gains new weight in international affairs, human security also raises contradictions with existing norms while posing questions about the institutions we have constructed to manage world affairs.

Later this month, world leaders will gather to open the UN General Assembly, which will lead us into the new century, an opportune time to examine how the organization is responding to the very changed and very dangerous world in which we live. It is at the UN where the contradictions between new and old are perhaps most pointed.

The Security Council, in particular, has not been as relevant as we need it to be. It is imperative that we consider how to adapt the Security Council to the new realities in order to protect people better. As the only global instrument for ensuring peace and security, it needs to be fully involved — not absent — in this process.

Canada is strongly committed to ensuring that the Council plays a central leadership role. That is why Canada introduced the issue of civilians in armed conflict in February of this year, requesting that Secretary-General Annan study it and make recommendations about how the Council can better promote the security of people. The Secretary-General's report and his proposals will be circulated shortly.

Among the most evident challenges for us, and for the Council in particular, is how the concept of human security relates to sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of states — still basic tenets of global peace and security.

The norm of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states remains basic to international peace and security. Kosovo must not be interpreted as a precedent to justify intervention anywhere, anytime, for any reason.

At the same time, in cases of extreme abuse, as in Kosovo and Rwanda, the concept of national sovereignty cannot be absolute. Tests and standards need to be established by which the necessity and legitimacy of international enforcement on behalf of human security can be judged and undertaken. To that end, the Council needs to be actively engaged in setting out these parameters and in resolving differences among Council members on first principles, so that the institution can be more responsive and proactive when crises arise.

Enforcement action is only one component of the Council's activities. In other areas, from peacemaking to peacekeeping to peacebuilding, the Council can and should be more active in integrating the human dimension into its work.

The United Nations should be the hub around which global action in support of human security is undertaken. However, while it has a central role, it is but one instrument through which human security can be pursued.

Innovative partnerships between like-minded countries can also make a difference. This is the impetus behind the initiative by Canada and your Nordic neighbour Norway to create a network of like-minded countries — transcending the old boundaries of North and South and East and West — to discuss and organize action on human security concerns.

Moreover, the truth is that foreign policy can no longer be shaped and directed by nation states and diplomats alone. New players on the international scene, including non-governmental organizations [NGOs], business associations, trade unions and regional groups, have a growing influence.

They can play a positive and powerful role. It was a unique coalition of like-minded countries, NGOs and ordinary citizens that came together to make the campaign to ban anti-personnel mines such a success and that served to move forward the creation of the International Criminal Court.

For countries like Canada and Finland, advancing human security — that of our own citizens and on the global stage — depends on creating synergies with others on issues of common concern.

I have mentioned areas where Canada and Finland are partners. Of course, what we most obviously have in common is our northern heritage.

A year ago at Iqaluit, in the new Canadian territory of Nunavut, we held the first ministerial meeting of the Arctic Council. The Council was created in response to the unique challenges facing the arctic region and the belief that there needed to be a different, comprehensive way of dealing with them.

The challenges derive from promoting development for the people of the region while ensuring the integrity of the arctic environment and protecting existing social and cultural values. These are issues that have a direct impact on the daily lives of arctic residents. However, because they do not respect borders, they need to be addressed through a new form of co-operation among the arctic states and their people.

Canada and Finland have been especially strong allies in this venture. It was Finland, through its Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, that provided the basis for the co-operation that now extends to sustainable development, governance, education and health and welfare.

To this end, I am particularly encouraged that contacts between northern indigenous peoples, the Canadian Inuit and the Saami of northern Finland, have intensified.

Canada and Finland are also both leading-edge information societies. I am therefore pleased we are working to employ high-tech resources in the North through specific projects such as the Arctic University, which will use distance-learning technology to educate youth across the Arctic.

The Arctic Council and its activities exemplify the novel types of arrangements we need to address transnational challenges that affect us all.

As EU [European Union] President, Finland has made the advancement of the EU's northern dimension, with particular emphasis on Russia and the Baltic States, an important priority. Where this focusses on energy development, transportation links, environmental protection, and health and welfare, there is considerable overlap with the activities and discussions already under way in the circumpolar context and in our bilateral relations with these countries.

Canada and Finland should intensify their co-operation. Your term at the helm of the EU is an ideal occasion to do so. Tomorrow, I will be meeting with the Finnish EU Presidency and representatives of the EU Commission, and I am certain we will discuss these issues as well as other aspects of Canada-EU relations. I also welcome the seminar to be co-hosted by Canada, Finland and the European Commission this October, which will explore concrete ways we can move forward.

Without doubt, the changes we have experienced over the past decade have radically altered our world. Whether in business, the media, academia or government, the challenge lies in defining how these changes affect our lives and in crafting the right strategies in response.

In the pursuit of global peace and security, the human security agenda is a Canadian approach. Recognizing that the security of Canadians is indivisible from the safety of others, it is an effort to construct a global society where the safety of the individual is at the centre of international priorities and a motivating force for international action; where international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web protecting the individual; where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and where our global, regional and bilateral



institutions — existing and future — are built and equipped to enforce these standards and to advance human security.

I have outlined some of the ways Canada is implementing this approach. Whether on the international stage or in our own neighbourhood, I believe our shared values and a similar tradition of multilateral co-operation make Canada and Finland well-suited partners in advancing human security objectives.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

www.dfaic-maeci.gc.ca

99/49

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE SYMPOSIUM  
"CIVILIANS IN WAR: 100 YEARS AFTER  
THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE"**

**UNITED NATIONS, New York  
September 24, 1999  
(9:15 a.m. EDT)**



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I am delighted to be with you this evening. It is a particular pleasure to be a guest of Vartan Gregorian so soon after his arrival at the Carnegie Corporation. Andrew Carnegie would surely be gratified to know that his work still inspires us to think about what needs to be done to protect people caught in the horrors of war.

I am also pleased to be associated again with the International Peace Academy (IPA) and its chair, Rita Hauser, herself a “force of nature,” leveraging her far-reaching influence in support of the rule of law. Never has the IPA’s blend of research, professional development and policy advocacy been more appreciated — or needed.

Finally, I would like to thank David Malone for his hand in organizing this event. We counted on his mind, energy and ideas in Ottawa, which have clearly served the IPA well during his tenure.

I cannot think of a subject more important at the dawn of the next millennium than that of civilians in war.

In 1899, the Hague Conference on Peace set an agenda. In 1999, the world needs a new agenda — one that puts people at the heart of foreign policy. The impetus for the generation involved in the first Hague Conference was a desire to make the act of war itself more humane, establishing rules to protect combatants at a time when civilians were largely bystanders.

Today, we face new challenges that could not have been foreseen by those who participated in the Hague Conference. In World War I, 5 percent of casualties were civilians: today that figure is closer to 80 percent. In 1999, civilians are direct targets of war, and live on its battlefields. In 1999, civilians have become tools of warfare, herded about to destabilize governments, pressed into military service, held hostage, exploited sexually, and used as human shields.

Modern-day warlords have created a new war economy, selling resources to fund their ambitions, terrorizing local residents for economic gain. They are aided and abetted by the discreet complicity of those who benefit from the marketplace of conflict. Arms dealers, with governments often turning a blind eye, are only too happy to oblige.

I realize that this is not news to any of you. The point is that the onus is on our generation — 100 years after the Hague Conference — to respond to these new realities. We need to change the discourse of diplomacy. And we need to change its practice. Fundamentally, we need to make human security at least as important as state privilege.

In February, Canada triggered a debate on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict in the Security Council. Last week, the Secretary-General responded with a blueprint for action.



This morning, when I addressed the UN General Assembly, I urged the members to put people first. The UN Charter does not read “we the state” or “we the ambassadors” or “we the P5” — it reads “we the peoples.” To give renewed meaning to the Organization’s founding credo of “saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war,” we need to put “we the peoples” first. I am convinced that the future of the UN depends on it.

In Canada, we are determined to help establish the new agenda. We intend to make a real difference in the lives of the people actually living through conflict daily. Our approach is threefold: strengthening norms, creating the instruments to apply them, and integrating them with practice in other areas — in essence, helping to set standards to protect civilians and taking international action to uphold them.

Some have questioned whether additional international legal norms to protect civilians are really required. Some argue that we already have a legal framework that provides the basis for protection, and that what is needed is better implementation.

I agree and I disagree! More rigorous implementation of existing norms is essential. However, as the circumstances of war change, the gaps in international standards widen.

This is the case, for example, with respect to the appalling issue of using child soldiers. The rules governing recruitment and deployment of children in war are inadequate. It is for this reason that I met earlier this week with a group of Foreign Ministers and NGOs [non-governmental organizations] to build momentum for change. The world’s children need a strong Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

By itself, a new Protocol won’t stop abuse. But it will create a new norm. We will need to give the issue profile, to advance the consensus of world opinion, to create benchmarks against which violators are held, and to orient and legitimize action to enforce it. In short, we need to make sending children to war a war crime that we can prosecute.

We also need to create mechanisms that hold violators of international law accountable for their actions. We must break the culture of impunity. The prospect of prosecution and punishment must be a real part of the calculus of those who resort to violence.

That is why we have been such strong supporters of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and for the former Republic of Yugoslavia — and for the leadership shown by people like Canadian Justice Louise Arbour in making the tribunals work.

By the way, the indictments against President Milosevic and senior Yugoslav military authorities helped to hasten the end of Belgrade’s aggression in Kosovo. Far from

complicating the problem — as some feared — resolute action by the Tribunal helped to solve it.

This underlines the need for swift and determined action in East Timor to ensure accountability. Certainly, we must not destabilize Indonesia. Without doubt, we need to take care to support Indonesia's own fragile transition to democracy. But we do not accept the view that supporting a tribunal undermines Indonesian democracy — what kind of future can Indonesians aspire to if it is premised on impunity? And what help can Indonesians expect from a world that is complicit?

Ad-hoc arrangements — while necessary — are by definition temporary and limited. The world needs a permanent International Criminal Court. A Canadian is in the chair at negotiations under way to make the Court a reality. He has the full support of his government.

Finally, making norms meaningful for the people they are intended to protect means making them the impetus for action. In arms control, the Ottawa Convention on Landmines [AP mines] puts people first by marrying the principles of the Convention to a concrete plan of action for de-mining and rehabilitation.

From the outset, the landmine campaign was driven by the conviction that decisive action was needed to protect human lives swept up in war. Today, over \$500 million has been mobilized for this effort — resources which, according to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, are having a real impact in saving civilian life and limb. The number of mine victims is down, over 14 million mines have been destroyed, producing countries are in decline, exports have practically stopped.

We have succeeded in stigmatizing mines and mine users, and in bringing a people-centred approach to an issue that was once mired in the outmoded discourse of state sovereignty. We can and must do the same with the other issues that plague people living in conflict.

That is why Canada's main objective during our tenure on the Security Council is to make human security — in particular the protection of civilians — the central focus of the Council's work.

The shortcomings of the Council are no secret. Its failure to act more resolutely in preventing the endangerment of civilians — especially when the threats are patently obvious — is one of its principal defects. More preventive engagement by the Council would help.

Its reliance on comprehensive sanctions as a way of doing peace and security on the cheap — with their capacity to inflict harm on the innocent — needs to be addressed.



Sanctions need to be used more wisely to hurt where they are supposed to hurt. They also need to be enforced more resolutely. This is the goal of Canada's efforts as chair of the Angola Sanctions Committee: to tighten the arms flow and diamond trade, and to diminish the capacity of rebels to wage war.

I do not wish to exaggerate the Council's shortcomings. We are making progress. The Council is mainstreaming the application of humanitarian law. Council members are being exposed more and more to humanitarian actors and concerns (including for the first time last week a presentation by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights). Peacekeeping operations now routinely include human rights components. References to human rights and humanitarian law in Council statements are standard practice.

All are important advances, all are useful in moving the Council, *à petit pas*, in the right direction. Yet the Council's risk-averse culture remains entrenched and the P5's privileges undiminished, particularly the obstructive recourse to the veto. Council actions are too subject to the vagaries of national interests and exclusive power politics, and are too rarely motivated by human concerns. This endangers the Council's credibility, while leaving the security of the people for whom it was created at risk. There has been progress.

Over the past decade, the Council has established a track record for authorizing enforcement for humanitarian purposes — even if we are troubled that it has been uneven and inconsistent in how it responds. We all know that the humanitarian imperative for action in Sierra Leone and Angola is as great (or greater) than in Kosovo and East Timor, but regrettably, we have no way of enforcing equal treatment.

That is why we believe that the international community needs to establish criteria to trigger military intervention for humanitarian purposes. And if such criteria are to be respected, we will need to find ways to overcome the reluctance of some to take risks on behalf of victims of war in far-flung places.

Canada is committed to grappling with these questions in order to make the Council more responsive to the human security threats we face.

But clearly, protecting civilians is not just a job for Canada, the Security Council or the UN. Civil society has an important role to play in elaborating norms and moving from norms to results. The IPA and the Carnegie Corporation, with your commitment to expanding the reach of international humanitarian law, are ideally suited to making an intellectual contribution toward shaping criteria to guide humanitarian intervention. I hope you will do so.

I have focussed this evening on the protection of civilians, specifically in situations of armed conflict. However, I believe that this is only part of the picture. In a changed

world, the sources of threats to civilians also come from the darker side of globalization — such as crime, drugs, terrorism, kidnapping and slavery. In these new global circumstances, if our aim is to protect civilians, we require a broader definition of security and a comprehensive approach to protecting it.

As Foreign Minister, my goal has been to adapt Canada's foreign policy to these new realities, where prospects for global peace increasingly turn on issues of individual safety. This underlies Canada's human security agenda. That agenda is a broad effort to make the safety of people a new measure of global security and a new impetus for global action.

It is obvious that devotion to the privileges of the nation state to the exclusion of all else is a dangerous anachronism. Peace will not be built behind walls of sovereignty, on the backs of the poor, the powerless and the dispossessed. To be sure, the state will remain an instrument of action. Reports of its demise are premature. But international law and practice will have to adjust. In any state worthy of the name, people come before privilege. And in any democracy worthy of the name, law comes before privilege. And in any diplomacy worth practising, people come first.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/50

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
SESSION ON SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

UNITED NATIONS, New York  
September 24, 1999  
(2:15 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



The proliferation, misuse and excessive accumulation of small arms and light weapons is a direct concern for the Security Council. I would like to thank the Netherlands for taking this initiative today to focus the Council's attention on this critical issue.

Last week, the Council took up the Secretary-General's Report on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict. It is a blueprint for making the security of people a central part of the Council's work. This was Canada's goal in asking the Council to request this report last February.

Protecting civilians is literally impossible without stemming the flow of small arms. Today, such arms are the principal tools of war used to kill, maim and terrorize people — mostly innocent and mostly civilian. In the past decade alone, 46 of the 49 conflicts that have beset our world have been carried out primarily or exclusively through the use of small arms and light weapons.

The impact on civilians has been devastating. Consider these facts: civilians constitute over 80 percent of casualties in armed conflict today; more than 1 million people die each year from these conflicts — 90 percent of which are caused by small arms. Estimating conservatively, this means that more than 700 000 civilian deaths a year are directly attributable to small arms. These are truly small arms of mass destruction.

Their widespread availability has made it easier to fight, multiplying the human costs in civil and ethnic disputes.

Small arms are simple to use and light to carry, lowering the barrier for violence and terror. They make it easy for corrupt governments and warlords to transform innocent children into chillingly efficient killing machines.

They endanger international military, police and humanitarian assistance workers whose very jobs it is to help those victimized by conflict. These arms make economic development impossible.

The challenges of controlling them are complex, but come down to a question of supply and demand, and frankly, the political courage to act.

The demand for small arms is fuelled by those whose ambitions perpetrate human misery. They are aided and abetted by the dubious business interests that profit from the marketplace of conflict. One of the failures of globalization is that it has permitted the creation of a new war economy where, in exchange for diamonds and other natural resources, certain corporations provide warlords with the financial resources they need to operate — money that is funnelled back to yet other dubious businesses that are only too happy to make their profit through the illicit arms trade.



These companies must look beyond narrow, short-term interests and start to appreciate the real impact of this trade on the lives of people. In other words, they must become part of the solution.

There are encouraging steps. Canada and a number of other members of the Wassenaar Arrangement have worked to ensure that their members would respect the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] moratorium on small arms and light weapons. This is what I mean by responsible behaviour. When a group of countries has the courage to say "no" to small arms, we must have the decency to respect their decision.

We also need to think of new ways to approach the problem of small arms. Small arms are ubiquitous, but they are useless without ammunition. We should consider how we might track, control or mark ammunition as one way of controlling the lethal effect of these weapons.

We should look at unilateral actions such as the destruction of surplus stocks. South Africa did it because they had the foresight to know they had to destroy these weapons before they could kill.

Clearly, the approach must be both comprehensive and systematic. That was the conclusion of the UN Group of Experts on Small Arms. As a result, a proposal is on the table at this General Assembly to convene a conference on the Illicit trade in small arms in 2001.

Canada strongly supports this proposal. We want it to make a real difference. So, we need to use the conference, and more importantly, the time between now and then, to change our thinking and to change behaviour. Canada is ready to host a preparatory meeting to bring a practical focus to this work.

However, we cannot wait until 2001 to take action. The need is too urgent. Rather, 2001 should be an opportunity to take stock of results and to plan the way ahead. But to get results, we need to start now.

Canada believes that we should take a practical approach to this problem. That is why we have supported microdisarmament in Mozambique and El Salvador; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration [DDR] efforts in Sierra Leone; and elaborating a firearms protocol within ECOSOC [UN Economic and Social Council]. Even in NATO, we have called on new members to ensure that their modernization efforts do not result in an unwanted flow of arms to other regions, and we have served notice to would-be members that their behaviour in this regard will be factored into enlargement decisions.

The fact is, on small arms, small steps often yield big dividends. Earlier this week, Canada and Norway hosted a meeting of microdisarmament practitioners from Sierra Leone, El Salvador, Mozambique and Albania. The purpose was to share experiences and identify how governments and other agents can work to support them. Their experiences were both compelling and encouraging.

Above all, they emphasized that in order to be effective, DDR needs to be well planned and well co-ordinated, within the UN system and with others who may be involved. Most importantly, it needs the full support of the parties most directly affected.

More active measures to limit the use of these deadly weapons, to prevent the need for DDR in the first place, would be even better. To this end, the Council must inform itself about the abuse of small arms and military weapons in its examination of individual conflicts, and must make redressing those abuses the centerpiece of its efforts to restore stability.

Where appropriate, the Council should impose arms embargoes and other sanctions, targeting the illicit trades that pay for these weapons. Most importantly, the Council must not merely call for, but rather must ensure, full and effective implementation of these measures.

This is the impetus behind Canada's efforts as Chair of the Angola Sanctions Committee — to choke the illegal diamond revenues that fuel UNITA's war effort; to reduce access to the petroleum sources that make it possible to operate their war machine; and, perhaps most importantly, to curtail acquisition of the weapons that make the continuation of this murderous war possible.

If we are successful in curbing the flow of diamonds, it will help the Security Council to devise models that might apply to other conflicts.

In this context, efforts to control the spread of small arms call for a shift in the way we apply sanctions. Comprehensive sanctions cannot and must not be used as a way of doing peace and security on the cheap. Sanctions are a blunt instrument. And as we know, blunt instruments hurt — but not always the ones they are intended to hurt. We need to make sanctions razor sharp. They should be pointed at the perpetrators of conflict — they are the ones who should suffer, not innocent people.

Clearly, the means are within our grasp to operationalize an agenda for action against small arms:

- The Council can act in the ways I've outlined: on sanctions, peace operation mandates and DDR programs.

- The General Assembly can reinforce and push the Council to implement the resolutions it has passed and to do more.
- Regional organizations can reinforce stability and security with arrangements on illicit and licit trade and trafficking in these weapons.
- Individual member states can act to ensure that they have the legal framework in place to control the import and export of small arms and to destroy those weapons surplus to their legitimate needs.
- NGOs [non-governmental organizations] and civil society can work in partnership with governments to promote implementation of measures designed to enhance individual security by curbing the spread and use of small weapons and working to build societies that see no value in the illegal possession and use of arms.

Small arms are a big problem. Diverse in nature, they demand a range of responses: political, practical, financial, technical and cultural.

We should pledge here to achieve a global division of labour to fight on all fronts — from the Security Council to individual governments to the level of community organizations — to address the menace of small arms. If we work together, with determination, I believe we may succeed.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca

99/51

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
OPEN DEBATE ON "THE STATE OF AFRICA"**

**UNITED NATIONS, New York  
September 29, 1999  
(1:45 p.m. EDT)**



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I would like to thank the Netherlands for convening this session on the state of Africa. Across the continent, Africans are seizing opportunities to build vibrant, stable communities. Democracy is resurgent, civil society is taking hold, prospects for growth are promising. The "African renaissance" is underway.

Economic and social development are, of course, central to these advances. Canada's long-standing commitment to working with Africans for this purpose is unshaken. A full third of Canada's development assistance is devoted to Africa. Canada has forgiven all the ODA [Official Development Assistance] debt of the poorest African countries. This year, we helped forge consensus on a mechanism to expand debt relief for the poorest. We have made combatting dangers that hit Africans particularly hard, including HIV/AIDS, a priority. We agree long-term prosperity for Africa depends on continued strong support for sustainable development.

But the freedom from want is closely linked to the freedom from fear. Societies cannot flourish in conditions of violence and intimidation. Too many parts of the continent remain caught in the vicious grip of armed conflict. The security of Africans in these situations is fragile.

Africa's people pay an especially high price in terms of threats to their personal security. That is why Africans are working to confront these threats directly. On a continent where landmines kill and maim more people than anywhere else, Africans took the lead in the campaign to ban anti-personnel mines.

Many of the 100 to 500 million assault rifles and other small arms now in circulation have found their way to African battle zones. ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] countries have had enough and imposed a moratorium on arms flow in their region.

Africa's children are the principal victims of the appalling wars that ravage the African continent. More are drafted into the service of violence as child soldiers than on any other continent. This year, Mozambique gathered Africans and others to take action on this front.

Africans recognize that the new war economies — marrying the brutality of warlords with the avarice of mercenaries, arms dealers and certain commercial interests — exert a terrifying hold on many of their communities.

Africans have categorically rejected the assumption of power by force. The decision this year by OAU [Organization of African Unity] leaders in Algiers is a milestone of enormous importance.

Clearly, Africans themselves have made the security of people an impetus for action. The rest of us should take care to listen and support — even if some around this table may not share their agenda. Equal attention, common action and collective resources

to advance Africa's security needs are required. Anything less, especially from the Council, is an abdication of our shared obligations.

Preventing and resolving conflict are a starting point. Africans are striving to end conflict: the OAU in Ethiopia-Eritrea; SADC [Southern Africa Development Community] in Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and the Arusha Process in Burundi. Peace is also being established in Sierra Leone, largely as a result of ECOWAS mediation and years of commitment by ECOMOG [Military Observer Group of the Economic Community of West African States].

International support can bolster these efforts and help build local capacity. That is behind Canada's support for Commonwealth efforts in Sierra Leone. At the Moncton Summit, Canada announced a three-year training program to strengthen peace and security skills in countries of La Francophonie. We are contributing to strengthening the OAU — especially the conflict management centre — and are committed to working for still closer consultation and co-operation between the UN, the OAU and sub-regional organizations. I welcome the presence here of OAU Secretary General Dr. Salim Salim and Ministers speaking on behalf of the sub-regional organizations of Africa.

Making peace is not enough. Keeping, building and consolidating peace are essential. Africans are increasingly called on to serve as peacekeepers. Canadian peacekeepers know their skill and bravery first hand. We are helping to build on these talents with further training at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Nova Scotia and its new office in Montreal.

Where conflict has ended, there is movement away from a culture of war to societies at peace. These efforts need help from other governments, civil society and business.

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants are a challenge. The plight of war-affected children is also a major concern. Building on Mali's efforts on small arms, Canada and Ghana will host a conference next year to map out an integrated approach to these peace and security concerns in West Africa.

Indeed, much of Canada's \$30 million Peacebuilding Initiative is focused on shoring up these and other efforts, with projects responding to local priorities and needs. Last week, my government announced a further contribution of \$4.5 million for Sierra Leone to help civilians, particularly children, affected by the conflict.

Controlling the marketplace of conflict which fuels local African war machines is also vital to prevent further suffering. Encouraging more responsible business and government behaviour is key. Efforts by Canada and others in the Wassenaar group to respect the ECOWAS' moratorium on arms flows are an example.



Business can contribute in other ways. If they want to harness Africa's economic potential they could join the effort to remove landmines that not only kill but also impede access to resources.

The Security Council has a responsibility to protect the security of Africans. Contrary to what some suggest, it has the authority and the mandate to take action against those who profit from misery, to help establish sustainable peace, and to intervene in the face of massive suffering. It should use its mandate forcefully and creatively to ease the suffering of those caught in zones of conflict in Africa.

More resolute action to cut off the ways and means for waging armed conflict and to ensure that these sanctions work is vital. This is Canada's objective in Angola in proposing tougher measures to reduce the illegal diamond revenues, to limit access to the petroleum sources, and to curtail the acquisition of arms and ammunition — all of which make it possible for UNITA [National Union of the Total Independence of Angola] to pursue this murderous war.

I am confident that, if the will exists within the Security Council, these sanctions can be a means of encouraging UNITA to return to the negotiating table. If successful, the lessons learned here could well be applied in other conflict zones.

When there is peace to keep, there is no substitute for collective Council action. This is no less true, and the demand no less urgent, in Africa than elsewhere. We may be faced with the need for robust, comprehensive peace operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo and possibly in Ethiopia-Eritrea.

The risks and the costs for these operations must be assumed by us all. Making this solely, or even primarily, a local responsibility, and simply passing around a hat to see what might be dropped into it, is shameful and inadequate. In Sierra Leone, ECOMOG has shouldered the burden long enough. Let us ensure that the mission this Council agrees to send to implement peace is coloured blue — UN-authorized, UN-managed, UN-funded — and that it is as integrated as possible with remaining ECOMOG forces.

The bitter experience of the individual Africans who have suffered most — victims of genocide in Rwanda, widespread starvation in Somalia, pervasive terror in Sierra Leone, slave-trading in Sudan and senseless war between Ethiopia and Eritrea — should demand effective intervention by the Security Council. Such is the responsibility of this body and no other.

This humanitarian imperative has been applied elsewhere — in Kosovo, in East Timor, but not in Africa — raising legitimate concern about how evenly this is put into practice. The Council needs to establish common criteria to trigger humanitarian intervention, apply them consistently in consultation with regional partners, and overcome the



reluctance of some to commit their people and their resources to help the desperate victims of war in far-off lands.

The security of Africans should be a matter of concern to all. It is for Canadians. That is why Canada is devoted to African development — the surest way to ensure sustainable peace. That is why Canadians — judges, police, teachers, humanitarian workers — serve in Africa. That is why Canadians were willing to lead a multinational effort in Zaire to protect the safety of a terrorized refugee population, and why today we continue to play a part in African peacekeeping operations. Canada is the only remaining non-African contributor to MINURCA [UN Mission in the Central African Republic]. Prime Minister Chrétien will reaffirm this commitment when he visits Africa later this year.

As for the Council, much of its time is already absorbed by African issues. The focus needs to be more on both the quality and the effectiveness of the attention it devotes to its African agenda.

To this end, an approach to Africa's security challenges that takes human security concerns fully into account makes sense. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has provided us with an insightful progress report on the causes of conflict in Africa. The Secretary-General's comments reinforce the relevance of a human-centred agenda for Africa; his recommendations underline the need for a comprehensive approach — outside and inside the Council. It falls to Africans, members of the Council and the broader global community — governments and civil society — to take this agenda forward and secure peace for the people of the African continent.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/52

## JOINT STATEMENT

BY

THE CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

AND

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FURTHER TO THE RECENT VISIT BY PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

October 14, 1999



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada

## **BORDER COOPERATION AND THE CANADA-U.S. PARTNERSHIP**

During their October 8 meeting in Ottawa, Prime Minister Chrétien and President Clinton congratulated Ministers and Heads of Agencies responsible for managing the border for the excellent progress since the announcement of the Shared Border Accord during the President's last visit to Ottawa in 1995. The work to date has been most encouraging and has demonstrated that both governments are committed to making the Canada-U.S. border a model of cooperation and efficiency.

The President and Prime Minister confirmed guiding principles for Canada-U.S. border cooperation:

1. Streamline, harmonize and collaborate on border policies and management;
2. Expand cooperation to increase efficiencies in customs, immigration, law enforcement, and environmental protection at and beyond the border; and
3. Collaborate on common threats from outside Canada and the United States.

The two leaders observed that the Foreign Affairs Minister and Secretary of State play a special role in facilitating the implementation of these principles. To this end, the Minister and Secretary have agreed to:

1. Consult with government agencies on progress in cross-border cooperation;
2. Promote high-level dialogue among federal, state/provincial/territorial and local authorities, border communities and stakeholders toward a common vision for border cooperation;
3. Identify emerging issues and long-term trends in border collaboration; and
4. Report on the state of the border, with input from government agencies, binational governmental groups and other stakeholders.

The Foreign Affairs Minister and Secretary of State agreed to establish the Canada-U.S. Partnership (CUSP) under the direction of the Assistant Deputy Minister - Americas and Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs. The CUSP will convene periodic meetings, including in border communities, to carry out these tasks.

-30-

Additional information will be available on the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's Internet site:

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>

# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

99/53

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE CANADA-EU SEMINAR ON

CIRCUMPOLAR CO-OPERATION AND THE NORTHERN DIMENSION

AYLMER, Quebec  
October 20, 1999  
(4:25 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I am pleased to extend greetings to all participants in the Canada-EU Seminar on Circumpolar Co-operation and the Northern Dimension. This seminar opens a new dimension in Canada-EU relations.

Articulating and implementing the Canada-EU partnership through northern, as well as traditional transatlantic approaches, offers a range of policy perspectives and avenues for practical co-operation that we have not previously explored or exploited.

Canada is delighted to be working with the Finnish Presidency in examining this aspect of our relationship. We congratulate Finland on the important efforts it has made to advance this agenda during its Presidency. Last month in Helsinki, when I met with the Finnish Presidency, we both emphasized northern co-operation as a priority.

Working together and building on the broad community of regional organizations — from the Arctic Council to the Barents Euro-Arctic Council and promoting co-operation, coherence and synergies between and among them — there is much we can achieve.

There are also exciting new possibilities for partnership with other countries of the North, particularly Russia and the Baltic States, as well as with the various communities within the North, especially Indigenous peoples.

That is why this seminar is of particular importance — to generate ideas that will help shape public policy in the North. This is especially well-timed as Canada and the EU have recently taken major steps forward in the elaboration of a northern dimension to our foreign policy.

In the Speech from the Throne last week, the Canadian government expressed its intention to "enhance Canada's leadership in the Arctic region and...outline a foreign policy for the North that enhances co-operation, helps protect the environment, promotes trade and investment and supports the security of the region's people."

Indeed, many of the issues are centred on the direct concerns of northerners. As a result, this initiative is also in keeping with the prominence my government gives to the human security agenda in Canada's foreign policy.

This seminar represents an important step in establishing both a vision and an action plan for a northern foreign policy. I intend to move forward by examining possibilities in the trade, investment and transportation sectors; by exploring new ways of dealing with the pollutants that threaten the livelihood, lifestyle and, often, the existence of our northern communities; and by seeking new ways to connect our communities and forge partnerships among our governments in order to secure a better life for all northerners.

I believe that together, we can bring a new and unique perspective to dealing with common challenges in the North and the broader global issues as they relate to the North and our shared northernness.

To that end I am working on a comprehensive, new document on Canada's northern foreign policy, which I plan to have ready before the end of this year. I understand that the EU will hold a special ministerial-level meeting in Finland on the EU's Northern Dimension.

This seminar, and the new networks of contacts it will generate, will make a significant contribution to this dialogue and to our follow-up work to implement a foreign policy for the North.

### **Canada's Vision for a Northern Dimension to Its Foreign Policy**

A sense of northernness has long been central to Canadian identity. Even Canadians who have never been to the North have a sense of the North: its strength as a pillar of the world's ecosystem; its fragility as the unwilling recipient of the world's pollutants. Canadians know that we connect with the world around and over the Pole, as well as through our traditional transpacific, transatlantic and transcontinental links.

Northern issues are varied — ranging from questions of sovereignty and defence to issues of industrial and commercial development, new trading relationships and transportation routes, environmental protection, research and education, health and social development and the promotion of cultural diversity.

The circumpolar community also embraces some of Canada's most important foreign policy partners — from the EU to the United States and Russia.

However, our approach has been largely ad hoc. It is clear that we have not been realizing the full potential of this aspect of Canada's political, economic, cultural and geographic nature. Until very recently we had made only limited efforts to use our northernness as a foreign policy template and to emphasize the link between our security and prosperity and our ability to manage northern issues.

That is why, two years ago, Canadian parliamentarians, through the committee dealing with foreign and trade issues, took a new look at the North and prepared a comprehensive report on Canada and the circumpolar region.

Thus began a process of extensive consultation and discussion. Last year, I released a paper, *Towards a Northern Foreign Policy for Canada*, at the Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting in Iqaluit.

As well, a national forum has been held to canvass the views of academics, experts and civil society on the North. And our Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs, Mary Simon, has met with territorial and provincial governments, Aboriginal leaders and organizations and other northerners to include their perspectives.

As a result, the main elements of Canada's northern foreign policy are emerging. There are four overarching aims: to protect the security and territorial sovereignty of Canada in the North; to secure the well-being of northern Canadians and the health of the northern environment; to contribute to a stable circumpolar community and the security and well-being of its citizens; and, in these ways, to contribute to the security, economic and cultural pillars of our foreign policy.

Canada will pursue these goals by promoting three things: the integration of a northern dimension into overall Canadian foreign policy; international co-operation contributing to sustainable development in the Canadian and circumpolar North; and circumpolar good governance through multilateral co-operation.

We know that we cannot do this alone. I also know from my extensive consultations with my European counterparts, as well as from discussions with the United States and Russia, that this broad agenda is not unique to Canada.

When I tell my colleagues that Canada's northern communities are concerned about their fragile environment, about opportunities for youth and children — particularly in the areas of education, employment, cultural interchange and business development — and that our northerners are tired of the usual North-South approach to dealing with northern problems, they understand instinctively.

When I tell them that Canada's northerners are ready to reach out to communities around them, that they are ready for a serious process of dialogue and engagement to find effective ways of dealing with these common challenges, my colleagues tell me they have heard the same thing.

That is why the time for the North is now. A northern dimension to our foreign policies is only logical.

### **Current Multilateral Co-operation Efforts**

The past decade has witnessed unprecedented co-operation and institution building in the circumpolar North, designed to foster circumpolar co-operation to meet the region's challenges and aspirations.

The Nordic Council has strengthened its role. The Council of Baltic Sea States was established to promote democratic development and foster economic development. The Barents Euro-Arctic Council was created as a forum for co-operation among its members on a wide range of issues. Three years ago the Arctic Council was inaugurated. It serves as a venue for governments and Indigenous organizations to join forces on common Arctic issues, especially sustainable development.



Each has proven its worth. Through the Arctic Council, for example, a variety of exciting initiatives are now emerging. These include the University of the Arctic — a "university without walls"; a program of work on children and youth of the Arctic; and the development of a system of electronic information exchanges related to environmental impact assessment.

Multilateral bodies are not the only avenues for co-operation. Strengthened bilateral relations with northern neighbours have been important in meeting challenges and exploiting opportunities.

It is no coincidence that our northern community — Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden — finds itself, more often than not, pursuing common interests, values and objectives in the world's multilateral forums, from the UN to the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe].

The end of the Cold War has opened new possibilities for co-operation with Russia and with the Baltic States. The emergence of a circumpolar community was something that simply could never have been envisaged when we were more concerned with the trajectory of ICBMs [intercontinental ballistic missiles] over the Pole than the flow of pollutants under it.

These are all forms of co-operation worth pursuing. The key is that we do so as efficiently as possible. Some overlap is inevitable — but we should strive to ensure that our efforts complement not duplicate each other.

A unique feature of circumpolar co-operation is the role and involvement of Indigenous populations. Building on Indigenous involvement in other northern forums, the Arctic Council broke new ground internationally. For the first time anywhere, Indigenous peoples, in particular the permanent participants, have an integral, ongoing role in a permanent multilateral body.

When the Council meets, it does so with the full and active participation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Saami Council, the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North and the Aleut International Association.

This is only common sense. Those with the most at stake must have a clear voice. They should play a direct role. They need shared forums to resolve common transboundary concerns.

Direct involvement by northerners — particularly Indigenous peoples — in the Arctic Council gives it particular legitimacy and relevance. This type of participation is unique among multilateral organizations, and serves as an important example for multilateral co-operation elsewhere.

Indeed, the example of Indigenous participation in circumpolar co-operation shows the relevance and connection of the northern experience and solutions to the larger global community. What happens in the North matters to the rest of us. And what happens elsewhere matters to the North.

This interdependence requires a two-way agenda. The nexus between North and South is perhaps most clearly evident with regard to the environment.

Effective policy and action in support of environmental protection is critical to Canada's northern residents. Their health, livelihoods and cultural survival are integrally tied to the environment. Environmental degradation — especially the presence of persistent organic pollutants — is putting many northern residents at risk. As we know, most of these pollutants originate outside the region.

At the same time, the circumpolar region is of enormous importance to the overall integrity of the global environment. Signs of environmental problems in the North are often an indication of wider trends with consequences for the entire planet.

As a result, it is important that in finding solutions to the Arctic's environmental problems, we reach out and make links with other international forums and institutions dealing with similar matters. Conversely, the experience and expertise of the circumpolar community in dealing with these threats might have application in the larger global context.

### **Expanding Co-operation**

Without doubt, the circumpolar agenda is about co-operation on issues of specific concern to the North. This co-operation should continue. But the agenda is also about opening up activities, extending agreements and widening contacts in areas already covered in bilateral relationships.

With regard to the Canada-EU partnership, there is a solid basis on which to build. Canada-EU co-operation in the Arctic on sustainable development and environmental protection has already been recognized.

An Agreement on Economic Co-operation, a Declaration on Transatlantic Relations and a Joint Political Declaration and Action Plan are in place. In 1998, we launched the Europe-Canada Trade Initiative to enhance bilateral and multilateral trade co-operation. In addition, a growing number of sectoral agreements — including those involving science and co-operation, education and training, and humane trapping — attest to the vitality of our contacts.

These general and sectoral agreements can provide the basis for extending co-operation beyond the environment. Possible areas for joint action include:

- diversifying the northern economy and the economic opportunities available for northerners;
- expanding trade and attracting foreign investment in the pan-Arctic region;
- strengthening circumpolar transportation links;
- considering possible avenues for improved trade in the goods and services of Aboriginal peoples in the northern regions;
- addressing unique health and social infrastructure needs;
- improving the education and mobility of northerners;
- co-operating at trade negotiations to facilitate access for products and services, including those of interest to our northern communities, to help them play a full role in the new global economy;
- addressing an overarching concern — one spanning this agenda and spanning the North — the need to build a future and open up new opportunities for the youth and children of the North.

## Conclusion

A Canada-EU partnership, across the North, would open up a new dimension of our relationship — one that would provide real benefits for our northern communities.

Many of the challenges facing the Canadian North today originate beyond our borders, just as many of the problems confronting the circumpolar region have either global origins or implications.

There is a recognition in both Canada and the EU that future security and prosperity are closely connected to our ability to manage northern issues effectively. This means being proactive together with our northern communities.

The concerns and challenges in the North are real: the implications of global climate change, transboundary movements of toxins and pollutants, biodiversity. But the opportunities are just as real: the development and diversification of northern economies, the creation of new transportation links by air and sea, the building of a northern, knowledge-based society.

We need partnerships to realize the full potential of the North and to let our northerners realize their full potential. The people of the North and our community of governments form a natural community: one united by geography but also linked by common experiences and, often, values.

The challenge before us here today is to define our shared values and interests; to put them into sharper focus; to make better use of the community of existing organizations and network of contacts in the circumpolar region; and to draw on our collective resources to implement our new visions of the North.

In December, Canada and the EU will hold a summit meeting in Ottawa. A wide spectrum of transatlantic and global issues will be covered, and I am confident that northern co-operation will be part of this dialogue. I can assure you that your deliberations at this seminar will be carefully noted by policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic.

On behalf of the Government of Canada, I extend my best wishes to all of you for success in your work today. I hope that the new contacts established at this event will lead to evermore fruitful collaboration and commitment at all levels as Canada and the EU pursue northern co-operation for the benefit of all our citizens.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

99/54

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO ACCEPT THE ENDICOTT PEABODY AWARD

BOSTON, Massachusetts  
October 22, 1999  
(1:45 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



More years ago than I care to remember, I was a Canadian graduate student at a nearby university. At that time, Governor Peabody was in office. I recall being struck by his devotion to public service — that is, service in the interest of people in Massachusetts and beyond.

Endicott Peabody characterized the best in American values — openness of spirit, the democratic tradition and, above all, a commitment to the welfare of others.

When he applied these on the global stage, which he did often, Governor Peabody reflected the best in American internationalism — an engagement to fashion a peaceful and prosperous world for all people.

Whether at home or abroad, the well-being and advancement of his fellow human beings was at the heart of Governor Peabody's work.

In that way, his life and work were emblematic of a generation — "the best and the brightest" — who established the United States not only as a world power but also as a global moral leader that others looked on with admiration and looked to for inspiration.

He was part of the United States that motivated many in my generation, myself included, to devote energy and time to building just and peaceful societies.

As a Canadian, I am therefore very honoured to be the first recipient of this award. It is a tribute to his memory, to the best in American tradition and to the common values that bind our two countries.

It is entirely fitting that this award, named after a notable humanitarian, should highlight the global effort to ban anti-personnel mines. Mrs. Peabody, your husband — typically — made an invaluable contribution to raising awareness about this issue here in the United States and around the world.

The campaign to ban this weapon is, fundamentally, a humanitarian cause. The impetus for action was the protection of ordinary people. The objective remains to rid the world of an instrument designed primarily to terrorize, maim or kill the innocent.

The Ottawa Convention is a concrete, global expression of the concern for others that makes our own communities so successful. In a much-changed world, this "people first" approach to world problems is proving more and more relevant.

The prospects for global security increasingly turn on issues of individual safety. The post Cold War threats — armed civil conflict, international crime, illicit drugs, environmental degradation, infectious disease — all exact a direct toll on the safety and well-being of people.



Consequently, our shared humanity makes the protection of human security a priority in world affairs.

In an interconnected world, our own welfare is increasingly indivisible from that of our neighbours. As traders, investors and donors involved in the world, and as open societies that welcome immigrants and refugees, instability and human suffering affect our lives.

As a result, our common interest makes the promotion of human security imperative for global action.

That is why Canada is taking an increasingly people-based approach to world affairs. The importance of human security in our foreign policy was affirmed by the Canadian government when it outlined its priorities for the future at the opening of Canada's Parliament last week.

The Ottawa Convention is an example of this human security agenda at work — and working. Almost a year after its entry into force, the Convention is having a real impact in saving civilian lives and limbs:

- the number of mine victims is declining;
- the once-flourishing trade in anti-personnel [AP] mines has all but vanished;
- the number of mine-producing countries has decreased;
- more than 14 million stockpiled mines have been destroyed;
- resources for mine action — more than \$500 million — are used for de-mining and rehabilitation;
- even where mining still occurs — in Kosovo or Angola — condemnation is swift, and de-mining activities are a priority in the post-conflict period.

This momentum needs to be maintained. We urge your Administration to ratify the Convention as soon as possible and join the moral force of the United States with that of those who have already done so.

At the same time, we strongly welcome the United States' active role and funding for mine action — and of course the unwavering commitment of many individuals and groups of ordinary Americans in supporting the goals of the Ottawa Process.

This past May, governments, international agencies and representatives of civil society gathered in Mozambique to plan the next steps to reach our goal of a world without landmines. There has been important, concrete progress to this end, and I am as confident about achieving this goal as I am committed to it.

Yet I believe the impact of the Ottawa Process goes well beyond the campaign to ban AP mines. The overwhelming and positive response to the Ottawa Process, with its focus on human security, underlined that a human-centred approach to global challenges has considerable resonance in the international community.

It demonstrates that the concern for the welfare and safety of others is a common thread that binds all of us and can serve to animate the global conscience into action.

It gave new élan and scope to the international legal framework that advances human rights and holds individuals accountable for their actions. It is no coincidence that shortly after achieving the landmine ban, the international community moved to create the International Criminal Court.

It underscored that in a globalized world, governments are no longer the only actors in the world arena. Civil society and the private sector have a growing and positive role to play. The success of the Ottawa Process is due to creative coalitions with non-governmental organizations and concerned individuals.

It also highlighted the darker role that non-state actors — militias, warlords, unscrupulous commercial interests — play in perpetuating human insecurity in conflict zones and beyond, and the need to find ways to address the challenges they raise.

In these ways, the Ottawa Process has clearly contributed to the new dynamic emerging around the world that places the individual — individual rights, dignity and well-being — at the centre of global affairs.

And Canada is determined to help establish this new human security agenda. We are making it a central element of our foreign policy.

A strong United Nations is an essential component. The United Nations was created to advance global peace and to promote the security of all. It must be at the hub of global efforts to protect and enhance the safety of people.

Indeed, it already has the mandate to do so. The UN charter — with its exhortation for "we the peoples" to save succeeding generations from war, to maintain justice, to promote social progress in freedom — makes this clear. What is needed today is renewed vigour to fashion a strong United Nations that lives up to its founding credo.

This is behind Canada's focus on promoting the protection of civilians during our term on the Security Council. At our request, the Council held a debate on this issue earlier this year. It led to a report by the Secretary-General — a blueprint — capturing many of the challenges and setting out 40 recommendations for action.

On the basis of this report, Canada is committed to making the protection of people central to the Council's work. Human security must be the subtext to the Council's action and the impetus behind efforts to prevent conflict, keep the peace, enforce sanctions and support the collective will of the United Nations.

Over the past decade, the Council has demonstrated the will to use its authority — including enforcement measures — to act in defence of humanitarian goals. However, it has also, for the most part, been uneven, inconsistent and, worse, simply unresponsive when these situations arise.

Today, the Security Council takes a step in the right direction. It will authorize a substantial United Nations peacekeeping operation for Sierra Leone to help implement peace where, for too long, ordinary people have been brutalized, terrorized, maimed and murdered.

The Council's decision includes a robust mandate that explicitly includes the protection of civilians.

It is a UN operation — authorized, managed and funded by the UN. This means it is not subject to the vagaries of voluntary funding and will help restore primary responsibility for peacekeeping where it belongs — with the UN.

Finally, it is a UN mission in Africa. This will go a long way to addressing the perception that the Council is biased against action on that continent.

It is, in short, an example of the human security agenda in action and a demonstration of how the Security Council can play a positive role. The UN operation is also entirely in keeping with Canada's own efforts to help the people of Sierra Leone.

Over the past year, we have appointed a special envoy to help peace efforts and we are providing over \$9 million in assistance for humanitarian purposes, to build peace through disarmament, demobilization and reintegration as well as support for war-affected children.

Indeed, the plight of war-affected children, especially child soldiers as young as eight years old, is a human security matter of special interest to Canada, at the Security Council and beyond. Children are among those most harshly victimized and deeply traumatized by armed conflict.

I know that the condition of children is a concern that Americans share with us. In fact, an American, Carol Bellamy, heads UNICEF. We work closely there and elsewhere. I am certain that even where there are differences, for example on support for a protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, raising to 18 the age of recruitment and



deployment in armed conflict, these can be resolved in the best interest of the future of the world's children.

By far the greatest threat to our children — indeed, to all humanity — remains the spectre of nuclear annihilation and the hazards posed by other weapons of mass destruction.

There should be no mistake. The threats that motivated people like Governor Peabody to push for a global non-proliferation regime — already four decades ago — remain frighteningly real today. Nuclear weapons testing and capacity in South Asia — a region where political instability and tension are dangerously evident — is a recent and startling example of these threats.

The need for a strong global non-proliferation regime and progress in nuclear disarmament and arms control is therefore vital. Yet the system that we have all painstakingly built over the past 50 years is fragile and under renewed threat.

For the past half-century, the United States has provided global leadership and moral authority in moving us in the right direction. Yet precisely when we need this global engagement most, Canadians are greatly concerned about momentum in the opposite direction.

The U.S. Senate's rejection of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty [CTBT] last week is a significant step backwards — a repudiation of 50 years of U.S. leadership on the nuclear non-proliferation front and a devastating blow to global nuclear arms control efforts.

This is very worrisome — not least for the security of Americans, which would be enhanced, not diminished, by the Treaty. The suggestion by its opponents that it would still allow proliferation by rogue states while hobbling the American nuclear deterrent — leaving the United States vulnerable — is misleading.

It puts in place an unprecedented, comprehensive international monitoring system encompassing 321 facilities and additional verification procedures, including on-site inspection. The CTBT would have easily exposed the "entry level" proliferators it was designed to deter.

At the same time, it would not jeopardize either the safety or reliability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent. This is not just wishful thinking, but the sworn word of those who should know. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the directors of U.S. nuclear laboratories have all testified to this effect.



This month, representatives of nearly 100 nations met in Vienna, at Canada's initiative, to review the status of the Treaty's entry into force. The result was an unambiguous reaffirmation of global support. Canadians therefore hope that the CTBT will be resubmitted to the Senate at an opportune moment and that — at the earliest possible date — it will be ratified by the United States.

However, the Senate's decision not only jeopardizes the CTBT but risks derailing the larger nuclear non-proliferation agenda. This would be dangerous for all of us. It is therefore essential that the United States restore its traditional leadership role and recommit itself to real progress in nuclear disarmament efforts. We believe there is scope for action both bilaterally and multilaterally.

The United States could begin with START [Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty]. As it has been more than six years since its signature, perhaps the time has come to subsume the START II treaty, which the Russian Duma has not ratified, into a new, broader and deeper process of strategic arms reduction that would have greater acceptance in both countries. The United States and Russia could also begin to address the arsenals of tactical nuclear weapons that both states have removed from operational status.

Respect the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missiles] Treaty. Both Russia and the United States say this is the cornerstone of strategic stability. It should not be undermined with changes that are incompatible with its intent.

In the effort to accommodate the possibility of an eventual National Missile Defence, great care should be taken not to damage a system that, for almost 30 years, has underpinned nuclear restraint and allowed for nuclear reductions.

On the multilateral front, the United States could help break the gridlock at the Conference on Disarmament. It is the principal forum for negotiating multilateral arms control and disarmament measures. However, since negotiating the CTBT, it has been at an impasse about what it should do next.

A package solution is at hand. It would comprise initiating negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty — the materials used to make nuclear weapons, exploring measures to prevent an arms race in outer space, and providing for discussion of nuclear disarmament. The impasse is partly a result of U.S. opposition to discussion in the last two areas. Greater flexibility here would go a long way to re-energizing the multilateral nuclear arms control agenda.

The United States should also support NATO's revision of its arms control and disarmament policy. In April, NATO leaders tasked foreign ministers with examining non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament options, given "the reduced salience of nuclear weapons."

Canada has been a strong advocate of this review. We believe it is crucial for NATO to have an arms control and disarmament policy that reflects the next decade — not the last. NATO should also review its policies relating to weapons of mass destruction to ensure they are consistent with the arms control and disarmament aims we wish to advance. One possible output would be a revised version of the Alliance's 1989 Concept of Arms Control and Disarmament.

U.S. support for a substantive review is critical to the success of this Allied effort. It will enable NATO ministers, this December, to send a reassuring message to the world community that the Alliance is part of the solution to global non-proliferation and disarmament issues.

Since the 1950s, Canada and the United States have worked closely on the challenge of nuclear arms control and non-proliferation. It should remain a focus for efforts between our two countries — one where Governor Peabody's spirit of co-operation prevails.

Indeed, Governor Peabody's commitment to the welfare of people was an inspiration for the human security agenda — putting the safety of people at the top of the world agenda.

His contribution to the campaign to ban landmines made him an important part of its global expression, and lives on in our efforts to make the protection of people a focus of what the United Nations does.

I trust that his legacy of internationalism will continue to serve as the basis for what makes our two societies strong, what makes our two countries the best of allies, and what makes our people the best of friends.

Thank you.



# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/55

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE ATLANTIC DIPLOMATIC FORUM

ST. JOHN'S, Newfoundland  
November 5, 1999  
(11:40 a.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





Canada's Atlantic region — its past and present — is emblematic of this country's long-standing, active engagement with the world around us. From the Viking presence at l'Anse-aux-Meadows at the start of this Millennium, to John Cabot's arrival at its mid-point, to the vibrant community that exists at its close — Newfoundland is a clear point of contact between Canada and the world. It is, therefore, entirely fitting that the Diplomatic Forum should be held here with a focus on the realities of this part of Canada — and I am pleased to join you in St. John's.

My travels often require stops in Newfoundland — making me well-acquainted with the hospitality of its residents. I am certain you will agree, and I would like to extend my thanks to our hosts for the generosity of their reception.

As diplomats whose job it is to interpret international events, we are confronted daily with a world in flux. Developments over the past decade have profoundly altered global life. The most remarkable aspect of this evolution is the emergence of people, in particular the security of people, as a force in foreign affairs and an impetus for global action. Putting people first is behind Canada's human security agenda. This was affirmed last month in the Speech from the Throne where it was featured as a prominent element in our foreign policy.

The priority attached by the Canadian government to promoting human security is no accident. It is the product of discussion, experience and analysis — in government and the media, by academics and diplomats, involving policymakers and the private sector. I am reminded, for example, of just such a discussion held this year by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development which examined human security as a paradigm shift in global affairs that provides a new lens for foreign policy.

Both the theory and action behind the human security agenda revolve around two considerations in particular — the changing global context and Canada's place in it.

In our new world, human security is a way of redefining and pursuing an old vision — global peace. It is a response to change with regard to the subjects, the methods, the tools and the players that make up global life.

The issues that affect global, regional and national security increasingly relate to individual security. Whether in conflict situations or as a result of crime, drugs, terrorism, environmental degradation, the safety of people — their rights, dignity and lives — is directly at risk.

The levers of power have also diversified. Military capacity remains important — especially, the ability to keep the peace. Yet only the most inveterate adherent of realpolitik would suggest this is the only determinant of influence. Compelling ideas, negotiation, public diplomacy, the attraction of an open, vibrant culture — are all valid currencies in contemporary international life.

Governments are no longer the only actors in the world arena. Civil society and the private sector have demonstrated the growing, positive contribution they can make to promoting human security. At the same time, other non-state actors, militias, warlords and unscrupulous commercial interests play a role in perpetuating human insecurity in conflict zones — and beyond.

Finally, the alternately transnational and interstate nature of many human security threats calls into question exclusive notions of state sovereignty. It compels us to adapt and complement — but by no means discard — our traditional state-centred theories and approaches to the world with another perspective that puts people at the forefront.

State sovereignty is not an end in itself — it exists to serve citizens and to protect their security. Sometimes, states can not acquit this responsibility or wilfully act to violate it — thereby putting human safety at serious risk. Yesterday, I discussed the plight of the world's internally displaced — over 25 million people — with the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative on this issue. In other situations, for example in Kosovo where NATO was compelled to take action, entire populations can be subject to the most egregious violations of human rights. In these cases, where human security is imperiled on a massive scale within state borders, the challenge for all of us is to consider the limits of sovereignty and the conditions for humanitarian intervention.

In the new global environment, the human security agenda makes sense as a Canadian response. As traders, travellers and donors — as an open society — the security and interests of Canadians are inextricably linked to the security of people elsewhere. A focus on human security abroad is a natural reflection of the values Canadians cherish at home — our attachment to human rights, stability, tolerance and the rule of law. And our experience in building a diverse, multicultural society gives us something unique to add when dealing with global threats to human security.

The human security agenda is, in short, very relevant for Canadians. By all accounts, Canadians strongly endorse it. We have never been more self-confident about our place in the world. Contrary to assertions in Canada about our waning status — fully 80 percent of Canadians believe that Canada has more influence today than 30 years ago.

And despite those who decry the focus on human security as unreflective of Canada's priorities — fully 64 percent of Canadians feel prouder of Canada's international role today than five years ago, and 68 percent rate it as a top priority for the Canadian government.

That is why we have been actively pursuing it, and why it will continue to be a focus of our international efforts in the future. Last year in Banff, I discussed Canada's goals with many of you. Since then, I believe there has been concrete progress in putting human security into practice in three areas:



- bringing human security concerns to the councils of the world;
- strengthening action against those who commit crimes against humanity; and
- pursuing human security in other areas of global activity.

As many of you are aware, Canada has made the protection of civilians a priority during our tenure on the UN Security Council. People's safety is most clearly at risk in situations of armed violence. The victimization, targeting and massacre of civilians is tragic, but these are all too prominent features of conflict today.

The Council has a central role to play in addressing this new reality. There are signs it is moving in the right direction. Last month, the Council authorized UN peacekeeping operations for Sierra Leone and East Timor, with robust mandates explicitly involving the protection of civilians — a result Canada fought hard to achieve.

Canada has been working to adapt the blunt instrument of Council sanctions so that they target the ability of belligerents to wage war while minimizing the impact on civilians.

As a result of a Canadian initiative, Secretary-General Annan released a report this fall on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. It contained 40 recommendations for action. They will help make human security the sub-text to the Council's action in its efforts to prevent conflict, keep the peace, enforce sanctions and support the collective will of the United Nations. Canada will act vigorously to ensure these proposals are pursued.

This year, other institutions and groups to which Canada belongs — NATO, the OAS [Organization of American States], La Francophonie and the G-8 — have similarly shown the capacity to adapt to the challenges of human security.

The Commonwealth, through its Ministerial Action Group (CMAG), shows how. CMAG took a leading role in efforts to restore democracy in Nigeria. At the time, those efforts were not always understood and often derided. There was even a seeming acceptance in some quarters that the democratic process, however imperfect, could be trampled by military might.

Canada — and its CMAG partners — disagreed. CMAG persisted in the belief that engagement would make a difference. The result is clear. Next week, Prime Minister Chrétien will visit Nigeria, meet with elected President Obasanjo, and celebrate with Nigerians on their country's return to the democratic fold.

It is the same principled approach that CMAG brought to Nigeria — no more or less — that it is now applying in Pakistan. As in Nigeria, complacency and inaction by others will do nothing to help Pakistanis restore the democratic process in their country.



Despite the familiar chorus of sceptics, I am confident sustained international engagement will. That is why CMAG is engaged, that is why a CMAG mission visited Pakistan, and that is why CMAG will continue to lead efforts to return democracy to that country.

Advancing human security means taking action in the world's councils to promote stability and to protect people. It also means holding accountable those who violate international humanitarian and human rights law. The culture of impunity must be broken. The prospect of prosecution and punishment must be a real part of the calculus of those who resort to violence.

For that reason, we have been strong supporters of the International Tribunals for Rwanda and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and for the leadership shown by people like Canadian Justice Louise Arbour in making the tribunals work. It is behind our vigorous support of the International Criminal Court and explains why a Canadian chairs the negotiations underway to make the court a reality. The prospects for human security will remain weak without progress in advancing individual accountability.

Finally, there have been advances in making the safety of people the focus in a wider range of global activity, including the situation of children, international crime and advancing arms control.

Last month's Speech from the Throne singled out the situation of children as a priority for action. For good reason. Armed conflict poses a devastating and brutal threat to children's security. In almost one third of the world's countries, children suffer from the effects of war and its aftermath. One of the most notorious practices in conflict is the recruitment of child soldiers.

That is why Canada supports the work underway in Geneva to develop the strongest possible Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It would raise the age for recruitment and participation in hostilities. This Protocol, accompanied by a comprehensive strategy to implement it, is vital in confronting one of the most heinous aspects of modern conflict.

The threats to the security of children extend well beyond situations of armed conflict. Exploitative and abusive child labour ranks among the most insidious and vexing challenges. The conclusion this year at the ILO [International Labour Organization] Convention aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labour — hazardous work, debt bondage, forced labour and slave-like conditions, as well as children in prostitution, pornography and drug trafficking — is a step forward.

Canada is committed to building on these achievements. In 2001, the UN will hold a Special Session on Children. World leaders will review progress in implementing the

Convention on the Rights of the Child and set a course for the future. In anticipation of this session, Canada has been active this week at the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] Conference in Geneva in building an action-oriented strategy relating to war-affected children.

In the area of arms control, the Ottawa Convention is an example of human security at work — and working. Almost a year after its entry into force, the Convention is saving civilian lives.

The number of mine victims is declining. The once flourishing trade in ant-personnel mines has all but vanished. The number of mine-producing countries has decreased. More than 14 million stockpiled mines have been destroyed. Resources for mine action — more than \$500 million — are used for demining and rehabilitation. Even where mining still occurs, for example in Kosovo and Angola, condemnation is swift, and demining activities are a priority in the post-conflict period.

The focus on the human dimension is driving activity to address the proliferation and abuse of small arms and light military weapons. Their misuse clearly exacts an alarming human price.

There are signs governments are beginning to respond. The OAS has concluded a convention on trafficking and illegal shipments. It is on the agenda at the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe]. Just last month, Central African countries met and worked out a detailed action plan to confront the devastating impact of these weapons on security there.

These efforts are going global. A proposal for a UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons is on the table. Canada is working to ensure the agenda is comprehensive and action-oriented.

There remains no greater risk to human security than the possibility of nuclear annihilation. Canadians consistently express concern about the nuclear weapons threat and make clear that efforts to reduce the dangers are essential. The need for a strong global non-proliferation regime and progress in nuclear disarmament and arms control is vital.

Yet the system that we have all painstakingly built over the past fifty years is fragile and clearly under renewed threat, lending new urgency to reviving the nuclear non-proliferation and arms control agenda and to revitalizing efforts in this regard.

The sources of threats to people come not only from conflict and the tools of war, but also from the darker side of globalization — drugs, crime, kidnapping and people

smuggling. The new information technologies bring progress, but also make it easier to propagate hate, commit crime and exploit the vulnerable.

The dimensions of the problem are staggering. According to the UN, organized crime syndicates gross \$1.5 trillion per year — greater than all but three of the world's national economies — profits made from the misery of the vulnerable and innocent.

Canadians clearly believe action is needed. An overwhelming majority cite organized crime as a problem and include in their concerns drugs, gang violence and smuggling of both guns and illegal migrants.

Fighting the illicit drug trade is part of our human security agenda, especially in our relations with the hemisphere. At the OAS, Canada worked closely with others and chaired the negotiations that created a new multilateral evaluation mechanism. It will allow the 34 members to assess each other's drug interdiction and demand reduction efforts.

To complement these efforts — and following up on Prime Minister Chrétien's announcement in Santiago — I initiated a Ministerial Dialogue on Drugs with my OAS counterparts this year. These discussions underlined how drugs drive the crime agenda — from corruption, to money laundering, to trafficking in firearms. They also pointed to promising areas of co-operation, which I will pursue in preparation for the OAS General Assembly in Windsor, Ontario, next year.

The arrival this summer of three desperate boatloads of human cargo on Canadian shores literally brought home to Canadians the ugly reality of another human security threat of global proportions — the smuggling and trafficking in human beings.

Bilateral efforts, such as those being undertaken in this case between Canada and China, and Canada and the United States, can go some way to confront this problem. Still, global measures are needed that address the interrelated nature of these and other transnational crimes. The completion of the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime together with a number of Protocols — including one of which seeks to limit the trafficking in women and children and one on people smuggling — is therefore vital — and an important goal for Canada.

The human security agenda puts the security of people first. It is an approach that Canada has embraced as a response to a changing world where threats to people increasingly drive the global agenda, as a reflection of our values and as a means of advancing our interests.

If there has been progress in advancing the concept — and I believe there has been — it is because the issues are ones that find resonance, not just in Canada, but in many of



your countries and among your people. If there have been concrete results — and I believe there have — it is due to the partnerships Canada has forged with many of the governments you represent and through the organizations to which we belong.

I have outlined Canada's views on the way ahead; I look forward to continuing co-operation and to opening new avenues of collaboration with you and your governments.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca

99/56

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF  
THE CANADIAN BUREAU FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION**

OTTAWA, Ontario  
November 23, 1999  
(1:25 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



Last month, in the Speech from the Throne, the Government of Canada affirmed the prominence of human concerns in our global relations. This focus on the individual, on putting people first, reflects the changing times in which we live and the need to adapt Canada's engagement with the world to reflect the new realities.

Today, I would like to speak about this human dimension in Canada's foreign policy, its application in our relations with the Americas, and the role played by international education in these efforts.

In a changing world, issues that directly affect the lives of people have assumed centre stage on the global agenda: among many others they include the new dynamic of armed conflict, the integration of world markets, the emergence of global environment and health concerns. Globalization has brought instant communications, faster transportation and improved technology; and now the images and the impact of these changes hit home, connecting all of us more closely into a common destiny. As our country is among the most open to the world, the situation presents challenges for Canadians.

The new global circumstances have also diversified the levers of power and influence. Compelling ideas such as negotiation, public diplomacy, and the attributes of vibrant, tolerant societies are all valid currencies in global life. They are levers that Canada possesses and is uniquely placed to use. As a result, there are new opportunities for Canadians to project our values and to advance our culture.

It is in this context of challenge and opportunity that we are adjusting the focus of our foreign policy and adapting the instruments we use to pursue it.

The human-centred approach gives impetus to Canada's links with the Americas. The links are clearly multiplying: this year we hosted the Pan Am Games in Winnipeg, the Conference of Spouses of Heads of State and Government, and the Americas Trade Ministers meeting in Toronto; and next June we welcome the OAS [Organization of American States] General Assembly in Windsor, followed by the Summit of the Americas at Québec City in 2001. All these events mark a crowded hemispheric agenda. The theme of your conference, "Education Co-operation With the Americas," underlines the wider engagement of Canadian society.

The focus on people — on human security, human rights and human development — clearly has resonance not only for Canada but throughout the Americas. Indeed, in many respects the countries of this hemisphere are on the leading edge in putting the concerns of people at the forefront. We clearly see this in the themes that have been central to the Summit of the Americas process: governance, poverty alleviation, economic integration and education.

The promotion of human rights and governance is a top priority. At Canada's initiative, the OAS recently began discussions on strengthening the inter-American human rights



system. The OAS Unit for the Promotion of Democracy (a Canadian initiative) is in place and working.

In the area of peace and security, human security now has a place alongside the more traditional focus on national security. Our hemispheric partners were among the first and most committed to the campaign to ban anti-personnel mines — weapons designed specifically to injure, maim and kill people. Regional efforts to implement the Ottawa Convention are equally energetic, both at the OAS and through bilateral demining and rehabilitation projects, such as Canada's demining efforts in Central America.

Similarly, it is our region that has taken the global lead in efforts to confront the abuse and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Last year we signed the Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Materials; this will help deal with the devastating effect of such weapons on our societies.

The emerging, transnational challenges of corruption, crime, and illicit drugs all have an impact on the daily lives of our people. Confronting them has therefore taken on greater importance. The OAS Convention on Corruption has spurred ongoing efforts to enhance probity and promote transparency in relations between governments and citizens.

The illicit drug trade jeopardizes the stability of our societies and imperils lives, especially among our youth. This year, under Canada's leadership, hemispheric nations agreed to a Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism. It will assess progress in the battle against drugs and will improve the ability of governments and enforcement agencies to combat this scourge.

To complement this effort, I initiated a Ministerial Dialogue on Drugs to examine the broader impact of the drug trade on our societies and our shared hemispheric agenda. The Dialogue has helped build consensus around the concept of human security, which I plan to discuss further with my counterparts in the lead-up to the OAS General Assembly next year.

Education — the dissemination of information, the exchange of ideas, the promotion of understanding — clearly has a central role to play in efforts to improve the lives of people. In today's knowledge-based societies, it is an even more potent agent for human development and human security.

This fact was brought home to me with devastating clarity during my visit to Kosovo last week. Conflict there is far from over. Centuries-old enmities and racial hatreds persist. Until Kosovo's people learn to overcome them, until Kosovo's children are taught to

respect differences rather than distrust them, lasting peace and stability will remain elusive.

In Kosovo as elsewhere, education is an essential part of strong, open societies. It is the cornerstone of an informed, engaged and tolerant citizenry, the basis for democracy and stability, and an essential element for the full respect of human rights and human security.

We in the hemisphere know this. Our leaders acknowledged the importance of education when they gave it pride of place at the Santiago Summit, recognizing education as the "key to progress" in the Americas. Canada is utilizing this commitment to education as the basis for promoting human rights and human security in several ways.

An important element in advancing human security is raising awareness of the issues and the challenges — whether in eradicating landmines, diminishing the negative impact of small arms or dealing with the illicit drug trade. Awareness precedes action: people must understand the dimensions of a problem before they can solve it. That is why, for example, education figures so prominently in our demining projects in Peru and Ecuador, in Nicaragua and at the OAS.

These awareness efforts need to be accompanied by practical transfers of know-how. To this end, earlier this month Canada and Brazil jointly co-hosted a seminar that involved human rights training for police officers. Canada's contribution to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Office in Colombia will be used, in part, to help teach local human rights workers to do their jobs more effectively.

Training projects such as these, especially in the security sector, are indispensable to the task of fostering open and democratic institutions that advance human security.

The education needs of societies emerging from conflict require special attention. The plight of war-affected children is a particular concern. The Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative has devoted resources to help children in the Americas deal with the traumas of war and conflict through education and rehabilitation therapy. Paying special attention to children and youth — helping them learn from and overcome the experience of war — will go a long way to building peaceful and stable societies.

Indeed, the best way we can guarantee human security in all our communities for the long term is by imbuing our children and young people with a strong sense of human rights, of the fundamentals of justice and democracy, and of the value of tolerance — and by involving them directly in practising what they are taught.



Through your own projects, the CBIE [Canadian Bureau for International Education] knows this first-hand. An excellent example is the peace education initiative you have undertaken in Haiti, training teachers and introducing civics and conflict resolution directly into school curriculums.

In a similar vein, representatives from around the hemisphere recently participated in a meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, which considered the contribution that education can make toward promoting peace and the concept of human security in the Americas and elsewhere. This, I hope, is the beginning of a process that will lead to the inclusion of human security-related curriculum in classrooms.

Canada's Youth Internship Program, established in 1997, is aimed at giving Canadian youth the opportunity to help and learn about other young people around the world. To date over 1400 young Canadians have participated in the Program.

They have served in Latin America; they have helped out at inter-American institutions, including the OAS, the Inter-American Commission of Women and the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission; they have worked directly in the field. In doing so, they have helped strengthen awareness of human security issues. At the same time, by their involvement and commitment, they have projected Canadian values and culture.

All of these efforts to promote human security in the Americas through education show potential. Whether through awareness raising, training projects, meeting special needs in war-torn societies, or involving children and young people directly, they need to be encouraged. I trust they are only a start.

They also underline the need to consider human security as we develop a more comprehensive international knowledge strategy. Consultations to this end are under way, and I am committed to working with my colleagues, provincial representatives and NGOs such as the CBIE toward this goal.

Our changing world is involving people more directly in global affairs while putting human concerns increasingly at the forefront of the global agenda. We are responding by emphasizing the human dimension in our foreign policy, including in our embrace of the Americas.

A natural part of this approach is co-operation in the area of education, with its emphasis on people. Your conference is therefore timely, and the presence of partner organizations from the Americas is welcome. I am certain that in these two days you will strengthen educational ties. And in the process you will further enhance Canada's and Canadians' links with the hemisphere.

Thank you.

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

99/57

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE CONFERENCE ON  
CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM**

**MONTREAL, Quebec  
November 24, 1999  
(4 p.m. EST)**



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





In considering our responsibilities to our children, I am often reminded of a saying of the Opaskwayak Elders of the Cree Nation. Expressing a common belief of their people, they say, "A child is a gift or loan from the Great Spirit, and one is given the responsibility to raise and care for that child. Since a child is a gift from the Great Spirit, the child is sacred and must be treated with respect and dignity."

The Convention on the Rights of the Child was an effort to give that sentiment global meaning. It set the international standard for our responsibilities. Since its adoption, it has deservedly become the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history. It remains the centrepiece for global action on the issue.

The need to safeguard and advance the interests of children and youth is as compelling as ever. Concern about the state of our children put the subject on the global agenda in the first place, and that concern continues undiminished today. Indeed, it is given new urgency by a changing world, with new threats that place our children and youth at risk.

A decade ago, Canada was a leader in drafting the Convention because Canadians were concerned about the problems facing children. We helped craft a Convention that espouses respect, compassion, tolerance and equality — a document reflecting the fundamental values that we cherish at home. I was proud to have been involved in that process. In the intervening years, an important objective for me has been to realize its ideals.

Ten years later, improving the condition of the world's children and youth remains a priority for Canada. The Speech from the Throne last month was unequivocal. The promotion of human security — an approach that puts the safety of people first — was affirmed as a focus of Canada's foreign policy. And in advancing human security, the welfare of children is front and centre.

For that reason, I strongly welcome this Conference. It offers an opportunity both to assess the past and to look to the future.

To move ahead, we need to learn and build on what has already been achieved. Progress has been made in advancing the safety of children and youth, and Canadians are playing a part.

There is greater awareness of the threats and challenges faced by children. The Convention focussed the world's attention on this issue. Today, in war zones, at work, in the areas of health and development, there is more understanding about the special needs of children and youth and increased sensitivity to the impact of events on them.

The international legal framework to protect and advance the rights of children has also moved forward. The Convention itself covered much ground. Where gaps remain or new threats emerge, there is momentum to overcome them. The past decade has seen the negotiation of further agreements — for instance, to ensure legal safeguards in the

process of inter-country adoption, and to prevent and eliminate the worst forms of child labour.

There has been progress in putting the rights of children and youth into the mainstream of a wider sphere of global activity. The rights of children and youth have become a crosscutting theme for development co-operation and humanitarian action. In matters of peace and security, Canada is making efforts to reflect the special needs of children and youth at the Security Council. This is part of our larger effort to integrate human security into the Council's work.

Finally, there is recognition that children and youth should have a voice in solving problems that affect them. As victims of war, crime, sexual and labour exploitation, unfortunately they are already full participants, directly affected by the darker side of life. It is only logical to learn from their experience, and to give them a say in how to improve their lives and security.

To that end, the involvement of youth in this Conference is welcome. Another positive sign was UNICEF's consultation with children last week, asking them which rights they considered most important. In Canada, we established a Youth Internship Program in 1997; the aim is partly to give Canadian youth the opportunity to help other young people around the world. To date over 1400 young Canadians have participated in the Program.

Together these developments are a promising beginning, but they are not enough. The hardship and fear suffered by too many of the world's young people make the Convention's 10th anniversary year less a cause for celebration than a time to call for renewed and concerted global action.

Canada is committed to working vigorously to consolidate and further the advances that have been achieved. We seek action to improve the security of children and youth, and we also seek their direct involvement in this endeavour. Three issues are of particular concern: child labour; sexual exploitation of children; and war-affected children.

Child labour ranks among the most insidious and vexing issues faced by those promoting children's security. It defies easy definition and straightforward answers. That is why we are approaching it from both a developmental and a human rights perspective.

Child labour is closely linked to extreme poverty. Yesterday, International Co-operation Minister Minna outlined how the issue is addressed by Canadian assistance programs, with their priority on poverty reduction and meeting basic human needs. For example, the programs include investments in primary education, alternative employment opportunities for adults, and projects specifically targeted at child labour.



From a human rights perspective, not all forms of child labour are exploitative or abusive. Some of them, however, deprive children of their right to realize their potential, and expose them to hazardous and dangerous work. These forms of child labour do contravene basic human rights and need to be confronted.

Earlier this year, the ILO [International Labour Organization] concluded a convention aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labour: hazardous work, debt bondage, forced labour and slave-like conditions, as well as the use of children in prostitution, pornography and drug trafficking. It was an important advance.

Through co-operation at the federal and provincial levels and with employers' associations and labour organizations, Canadians worked hard for this agreement. Our common goal is now a reality: we have an effective and simple instrument that sets international standards against which all countries can be assessed. Our attention now turns to ensuring that the convention is ratified — and, most important, that as many countries as possible adhere to it.

We are supporting the ILO in other ways. With Canadian assistance, the ILO has put in place an International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour; this seeks to develop, test and apply "best practices" in eliminating the worst forms of child labour. Last year, we also contributed to another ILO program known as SIMPOC, or the Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labour, with the aim of gathering data on child labour in about 40 countries.

There can be no more heinous threat to our children than sexual exploitation. It robs them of their innocence and can inflict lifelong damage. Today the predator's reach is worldwide, and so we must have global solutions.

In 1996 in Stockholm, I was part of the Canadian delegation to the World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. The high degree of participation at the Congress indicates the level of commitment to effective action in this area. To follow up on the Agenda for Action developed at the Stockholm Congress, the Government of Canada and Canadian NGOs formed a joint Committee on War-Affected Children. The Chair of the Committee is Senator Landon Pearson.

Canada has also been working at the United Nations to develop a protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, designed specifically to deal with this threat. It would require countries to criminalize activities associated with the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. It would urge countries to extend their jurisdiction on such matters to acts committed by their citizens abroad.

Canada has already taken steps on extra-territorial reach. We now have the means to prosecute our citizens who engage in commercial sexual activities with children while



outside the country. We are working to ensure that the law is enforced. I am encouraged that other countries are moving in the same direction. There can be no tolerance and no sanctuary for such activities.

The private sector can play a part, too, by discouraging sex tourism. I note, for example, Air Canada's efforts to develop messages for this purpose.

In our wired world, the Internet poses a new challenge. The information highway can transport the best but also the worst, including child pornography and child exploitation. This is abuse that must be stopped. We are working with other governments — through the OECD [Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development], the UN and others — to prevent the Internet from becoming a safe haven for those who seek to hurt or harm our children.

While we weave an international net to ensnare predators, we must also take action to free those traumatized by exploitation. Last year, Canada hosted "Out From the Shadows," an international conference of youth from across the Americas who had experienced some form of sexual exploitation.

The conference gave them a platform. Now their Action Plan is contributing to our efforts at the United Nations: Canada sponsored a meeting at which the youth participants presented their recommendations. As a result of the conference, we have also undertaken projects with Canadian NGOs for sexually exploited youth in Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Bolivia, Peru and Chile. The projects focus on counselling and rehabilitation, education and training, and reintegration into the work force and the community.

As we move into the next century, the welfare, rights and protection of war-affected children are increasingly at risk. One of the most disturbing human security issues we face is the plight of war-affected children, particularly the cynical practice of targeting children both as fighters and as victims. The devastating toll exacted on children over the past decade brings home the tragedy: millions killed, disabled, orphaned, displaced and psychologically scarred by the trauma of abduction, detention, rape and witnessing the brutal murder of family members. More than 300 000 girls and boys serve in armed forces and rebel gangs.

The advent of light weapons technology, the rise of intra-state conflict and an increase in irregular forces have all exacerbated the problem. The definition of "child soldier" is broad. It includes child fighters with weapons, but also the many boys and girls who "serve armies" as cooks, porters, messengers, spies, labourers and sexual slaves.

The child soldier challenge is complex. It has three aspects: to protect children and provide them with alternatives so that they do not become child soldiers; to remove

child soldiers from active combat; and to reintegrate children into families and communities if they have been soldiers.

Canada is regarded as a leader in these efforts. Our approach has been multi-faceted.

First have been political advocacy measures. Canada supports Mr. Olara Otunnu, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, particularly in his role as an advocate raising awareness of the issue of children and armed conflict with both governments and rebel groups who employ children in conflict. Earlier this year, Canada contributed \$400 000 to the Special Representative's trust fund. Mr. Otunnu's office remains a focus of awareness-raising and action.

While on the Security Council, we have worked to make child protection a recognized integral part of UN peace support operations. We have also identified the issue of war-affected children as a key element in our Council initiatives with the objective of promoting the protection of civilians in armed conflict. There has been some movement forward: two Council resolutions have been adopted. The first deals directly with children affected by armed conflict; the second is on the protection of civilians, where the specific needs of children are highlighted.

Canada is working with other committed governments to bring the assistance and protection of war-affected children to the fore in a variety of regional and sub-regional organizations, such as the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe], the OAS [Organization of American States] and ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]. To that end, I met with President Rawlings of Ghana earlier this year, and together Canada and Ghana will co-host a conference next spring on war-affected children in West Africa. This is part of an effort to focus on the regional dimensions of this global problem.

Canada is also committed to assisting the plight of war-affected children through development and peacebuilding efforts. As you have already heard from my colleague, Minister Minna, CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency] assists children and youth affected by conflict through projects to rebuild schools and to meet basic human needs — including access to clean water, food, health care and shelter.

This is the first level of needs, but we must do still more. And we are doing it through the Canadian peacebuilding Initiative and also through local Canada Fund programs in affected countries. We are working with NGOs and local populations to reintegrate child victims and child soldiers alike, by means of education projects, disarmament, reunification programs, sports and skills training. In Sierra Leone, for example, Canada has devoted over \$9 million to humanitarian and peacebuilding efforts. A significant portion of this money is going to meet the specific needs of children.



We have also made a strong effort to work closely with civil society. The Committee on War-Affected Children is proving extremely effective at forging partnerships with all sectors of Canadian society. Internationally, we were the first government to provide financial support to the international Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. Earlier this month, Canadian representatives worked hard at the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] conference in Geneva to bring attention to the plight of war-affected children and to make it a focus of ICRC activities.

Finally, Canada is seeking to strengthen international legal instruments against the use of child soldiers. The rules governing the recruitment and deployment of children in war are inadequate. That is why Canada took a strong position in negotiations on the International Criminal Court [ICC]. Once it is established, the ICC will criminalize the conscription, enlistment or use of children under the age of 15 as soldiers. For the same reason, negotiations have started on a strong Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, dealing with the involvement of children in armed conflict.

Canada supports these efforts. A central aim is to raise the minimum age of recruitment and participation in hostilities from 15 to 18, in conformity with the rest of the Convention. We have been very involved in negotiations and in garnering support. At the UN this September, I hosted a Child Soldier Strategy Session with a small number of foreign ministers for this purpose. We agreed to form a Friends of the Optional Protocol group (under Canada's leadership) to push for the adoption of a "straight 18" position at the next round of negotiations in January. In a related development, we have been reviewing our own legislation and practices in this regard.

It has been three short years since Graça Machel presented her *Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* at the UN General Assembly and revealed to the world the tragedies faced by war-affected children. Her report recommends that a conference be held in 2000 to evaluate global progress and future ways and means of assisting children affected by conflict. This recommendation was more recently endorsed by the Berlin Declaration on the Use of Children as Soldiers, issued by a broad coalition of NGOs last month.

Canada would like to take up Graça Machel's challenge. I am announcing today that, next year, Canada will host an International Conference on War-Affected Children. The Conference will bring together governments, international organizations and civil society from every region of the world. Together, their task will be to formulate a comprehensive, global plan of action for addressing the full range of problems and potential solutions for children affected by conflict.

In 2001, the world will gather at the UN for a Special Session to review the achievements of the past decade, and to agree on new commitments and a new global agenda for the next one.

As the Speech from the Throne makes clear, Canada is committed to playing an active part in the preparations for this meeting and in ensuring its success. Prime Minister Chrétien has designated Senator Pearson as Canada's representative on the six-country preparatory committee. She has already used the opportunity to highlight Canadian priorities and to underline the importance of enabling children and youth to participate in the preparatory process and the Special Session.

The aim of promoting the security of the world's children and young people is central to Canada's human security agenda. Our efforts focus on protecting children and helping young people confront threats from sexual predators, from labour exploitation or from the traumas of armed conflict. Doing so is an essential part of our broader aspiration to promote human security and to create stable, peaceful societies.

To build a world that values human security, we must start with concern and action for those who will inherit it. The Convention on the Rights of the Child was a beginning, a way for the international community to exercise its role of trust for the world's children. In less than two years, at the UN Special Session, we will be collectively held to account for how we have acquitted this responsibility. There is precious little time. We will use it to bring a tangible measure of security to the lives of children and young people at risk — and, with them, to set a firm course for the future.

Thank you.





# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

---

2000/1

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION  
ON THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

UNITED NATIONS, New York  
January 24, 2000  
(4:55 p.m. EST)





Canada strongly welcomes this Security Council session on the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC]. The conflict there jeopardizes regional peace. It undermines the already fragile prospects for stability in an African country central to the continent's interests. Most important, it is senselessly taking the lives of many innocent people and destroying the hopes of countless others.

A solution that creates lasting peace in the DRC is therefore imperative. Canada is hopeful that this gathering will bring progress.

As we focus on building a more promising future for the DRC, we also need to be mindful of the sometimes disheartening past. Last month, the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the UN during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda published its findings.

They are a stinging portrait of failure in Africa by members of the UN, this Council and the UN Secretariat: failure to foresee and prepare; failure to communicate; failure to exert leadership and commit resources. In short, the Inquiry found an abysmal failure by the global community to act when the people of Rwanda most desperately needed our help.

I commend the Secretary-General for establishing this unprecedented inquiry, and for acknowledging the role he and the UN Secretariat played in the Rwandan tragedy.

But the burden of responsibility is spread wide. We — as the Security Council, as UN member states and as individuals — would do well to follow the Secretary-General's example and clearly acknowledge our own shortcomings in Rwanda.

At the same time, retroactive mea culpas alone serve little purpose. We cannot undo the past, but we can learn from it and apply its lessons to the present.

The Inquiry highlights how terribly wrong things went in Rwanda, yet it also provides specific guidelines on how to prevent tragedies in the future.

The Inquiry underlines how human security — the safety and protection of civilians — has become a central concern in modern armed conflict. It thereby puts the focus on the need to integrate the human dimension into action on matters of war and peace.

The Inquiry stresses the importance of African issues to the Security Council's activities and to Council credibility. It shows how the Council neglects the continent at its peril, and it shows as well the appalling price that Africans pay when the Council fails to act.

It lays all of this out clearly, methodically and indelibly. The result is that in future it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the Security Council to shrink from or ignore its obligation to support peace and security in Africa.



And there are encouraging signs that the Council is learning from experience. I believe our deliberations on the Democratic Republic of the Congo today are evidence that we are doing so.

The Council has given extensive consideration to the armed conflicts that continue to beset parts of Africa, and it has spent much time on the search for solutions. The Council's recent open debates on Africa have helped focus attention on that search.

We have engaged in thematic discussions on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, on the abuse of small arms and light military weapons, and on war-affected children. The discussions are helping to broaden the Council's awareness of the security challenges of the new century, and helping as well to inform its responses. They have served to highlight the specific impact of these issues in African war zones.

Beyond words and awareness there are also deeds.

There is an increasing sense that, in Africa as elsewhere, the Council must lend its weight to the ongoing peace efforts of others. In Sudan, for example, the long-running armed conflict is a serious concern; away from the glare of the media spotlight, it continues to take a devastating human toll. The Security Council should consider how it can support IGAD [the Intergovernmental Authority on Development] in its mediation efforts.

In Sierra Leone, the Security Council established a new mission that is helping to implement a fragile peace agreement and to bring a measure of peace and security to the people of that country. For the first time, a UN peacekeeping operation's mandate specifically includes the protection of civilians.

The Council is currently considering the expansion of this operation. The Secretary-General has made his recommendations. It is now up to Council members to demonstrate that we are willing to match our professed concern about Africa with resources, and to endorse this plan fully and resolutely.

In Angola, Canada has been working on practical ways to increase the effectiveness of the sanctions regime targeting the illicit trade in diamonds, weapons and petroleum. These measures are aimed at ending the senseless civil conflict that has claimed so many lives. If accepted and successful, the new measures might be applied to other conflicts. We hope they provide a model for constraining the marketplace of conflict.

All of this is progress, in terms of concrete Council action in Africa and in terms of making the advancement of human security an important feature of that action. But the progress is tenuous. The Council's engagement needs to be reinforced and sustained.

We must not shrink from doing what is needed. Too often, the Council is motivated by avoiding cost and evading risk.

The conflict and turbulence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo reflects many of the realities of modern war. It is clearly a significant human security challenge. And it is one of the most complex conflicts facing the global community. The Council's active involvement is therefore indispensable.

The DRC's territorial integrity has been violated by foreign military forces occupying vast swathes of its eastern provinces. Some domestic opposition forces have chosen military conflict over political means to contest national leadership. Internal and external forces are thwarting dialogue on the country's future institutions and on the path to democracy.

An array of military groups and militias that are armed, dangerous and acting with impunity use Congolese territory to challenge the governments of many of the DRC's neighbours.

The influence of the new war economies is significant. The Congo's economic development is languishing, with some of its rich endowment of resources shamelessly pilfered to support war-making.

Most important, ordinary people are suffering to an appalling and unacceptable degree. Civilians are the principal victims of the violence. Tens of thousands have been uprooted from their homes. Thousands have been killed or maimed. Women and children suffer greatly.

There are, however, other equally important realities. The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo are a nation, united in their commitment to maintaining the integrity of the Congo's territory and the sanctity of its borders.

The people of the DRC ardently desire peace, with open and unimpeded dialogue. They want a chance to develop their political institutions democratically. They seek to achieve a representative government that will realize and anchor their aspirations for stability and economic development.

Today we have heard many of the leaders of African countries bordering the DRC express the same desire for peace, for stability, for a return to normality. They too want closure on these problems.

The elements of a solution exist. The Lusaka Agreement, signed last summer, is central to ending the conflict. It addresses the principal issues that need to be resolved: a cease-fire and disengagement of troops, a national political dialogue in the DRC, the

orderly withdrawal of all foreign forces, the disarmament of armed groups, the re-establishment of state administration, and the creation of a framework for implementation of the accord — one that notably involves the United Nations.

The tools are at hand but the momentum has stalled. I therefore strongly welcome the initiative of the United States in convening this meeting, its willingness to engage fully in efforts to resolve the conflict, its leadership in bringing the parties together here in New York and its willingness to involve the United Nations in these efforts.

The prospects for peace are tied primarily to the actions and decisions of those directly involved. The onus is clearly on them. As President Mandela said last week in the context of Burundi, no one can reach agreement but the parties themselves. His wise counsel rings equally true for those involved in the DRC.

However, the global community can and should now play an active role in reviving the peace process and achieving the goals set by the Lusaka Agreement.

The time has come for the international community to assume its share of the burden — not only African countries but all of us. It is not a responsibility to be contracted out to an ad hoc coalition; instead it must be met by truly collective efforts. And it must be funded not as a charity case but by assessed contributions — in other words, through the UN Security Council and through a UN operation.

In the first instance, this means the early deployment of 500 UN observers, already agreed to by the Security Council last November. They will need to be supported with a clear mandate and adequate resources. To that end, Canada supports the immediate creation of a robust UN mission along the lines proposed by the Secretary-General, to assist in the implementation of the Lusaka agreement, and to include in this mandate a clear and unequivocal provision for the protection of civilians under Chapter 7 of the Charter.

The Joint Military Commission [JMC] plays a key part in ensuring that the Lusaka Agreement is respected. Canada will contribute \$500 000 to the operation of the JMC. We expect the JMC and the UN peacekeeping presence to work hand in hand in the full implementation of the Agreement.

Canada has been helping in other ways, and it will continue to do so. In addition to supporting UN efforts, we believe that our most useful contribution is in supporting the inter-Congolese dialogue as well as the institutional development of the DRC.

Indeed, we have already been actively involved in efforts to promote reconciliation and peace in the DRC. In the past, Canada has supported projects emphasizing conflict prevention through the promotion of human rights, increasing popular participation in



decision making, reinforcing good economic management and expanding the country's economic base.

Canada will redouble these efforts. In the coming months, we will provide an additional \$2 million to support the peace and reconciliation process in the DRC and in the region. One million dollars will be earmarked for the inter-Congolese dialogue, led by Sir Ketumile Masire at the request of Secretary-General Salim Salim of the OAU [Organization of African Unity].

The serious — indeed, tragic — problem of child soldiers demands particular attention. Last year, Canada contributed to the organization of the Kinshasa Forum on the Demobilization and Reintegration of Child Soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with further support from UNICEF and the World Health Organization.

To consolidate peace efforts, still more concrete actions aimed at helping war-affected children are needed. For this purpose, Canada will contribute \$1 million to help with disarmament, rehabilitation and reintegration, with part of this sum going to the DRC National Commission on Child Soldiers.

This April in Accra, Ghana and Canada will host a regional conference on war-affected children. The meeting will consider other concrete measures with relevance to West Africa, and undoubtedly to the DRC and the Great Lakes situation. Our aim is for the lessons learned from these initiatives to be shared and built upon at a global conference, to be hosted by Canada next September.

Since the low point so vividly recalled in the Rwanda Inquiry report, the Security Council has made headway in becoming more actively involved in Africa. In this instance, we may hope that past is not prologue. More resolute engagement in promoting peace and security on the continent; increased understanding of the need for a comprehensive approach that links Council action with other efforts; recognition that a more human-centred approach to security challenges is needed in Africa, as elsewhere — these are all positive trends.

This week's meetings on the DRC are further and welcome evidence of Security Council commitment to these trends — a commitment that Canadians fully support.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

2000/2

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
ACCEPTING

THE MCGILL INTERNATIONAL REVIEW AWARD OF DISTINCTION

MONTREAL, Quebec  
January 27, 2000



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



At the outset, allow me to express my gratitude for being the first recipient of the McGill International Review Award of Distinction. The commitment of the Review to quality and thought-provoking material will no doubt contribute to the very lively debate about international affairs in our country. It will also give added lustre to McGill University's international reputation as a centre of academic excellence.

I am therefore very honoured to accept this expression of your appreciation, an award I share with all those who work with me in the service of Canadians and of Canadian interests abroad.

This honour is all the more special given the important occasion at which it is given. A decade ago, the McGill Model UN Assembly was established — testament to the active interest and engagement of faculty and students in the world around them.

During the past ten years it has flourished. Today, it is the largest gathering of its kind in North America with over a thousand participants. This is in no small part the result of the dynamism of its volunteer student organizers, all of whom I commend this evening for their energy and commitment.

It is this dedication, drive and optimism that are typical of a new generation of Canadians. I witnessed this again earlier this month during a visit to Colombia. I met two young Canadian diplomats who volunteer virtually all their spare time on a project aimed at helping Colombian street children. This example is not unique. It is repeated around the globe. Through the Canadian International Internship Program, for instance, thousands of young Canadians are or have served abroad helping others.

I am constantly impressed by the brimming confidence of young Canadians across the country and the unbridled enthusiasm with which they — you — are embracing the brave new world beyond our borders, with all its promise and all its challenges.

Indeed, it is a brave new world we all face. The past decade of achievement by this model UN has closely paralleled a decade of dramatic change internationally — change to the issues, the subjects and the actors — which you are gathered to debate and discuss.

Fundamental to all of this change is the evolving nature of world peace and security. The central aspiration of the UN Charter, set out over a half century ago, is to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. This goal remains the same.

However, in a vastly different global context, how we achieve this objective needs serious review. Advancing national security and stability have been the traditional focus. This continues to be important, but it is no longer enough.

Threats to human security — direct challenges to the safety and welfare of people — as a result of armed conflict, environmental degradation, the impact of international crime



and terrorism, the spread of infectious disease — increasingly define the global security agenda. Responding to these threats is more and more a central impetus for concerted global action.

Events of the past year that seized our attention, and that compelled action, provide ample evidence. In Kosovo, East Timor and Sierra Leone for example, ordinary people have been victims of massive violations of human rights and humanitarian law.

Some in Canada are tempted to believe that these events — however tragic — happen far away and have little bearing on our own lives, our worries, our hopes, our future. They should think again — we all should.

Consider the ordeal of Shirley Macklin from Winnipeg, taken hostage by terrorists in the Air India hijacking; the kidnapping last year of eight Albertan oil workers in Ecuador; the insidious influence of the illicit drug trade on young Canadians; the impact on Canada of the global traffic in human cargo; the spectre of terrorist activity in our country. These are all human security threats happening today in Canada or to Canadians.

As a result, we need to pay attention to the human dimension in global affairs: because the realities of globalization link our destinies as never before; because acting out of concern for others is a proud part of Canadians' humanitarian tradition; and because it matters very much and very directly to Canadians' own interests.

It is time, therefore, that we adapt our foreign policy thinking, re-tool the instruments of the diplomatic trade, seek out new partnerships and creative solutions — all in order to pursue an approach to global peace and security that puts people first. That is behind Canada's human security agenda.

A strong and relevant United Nations is indispensable to this goal. Supporting an effective United Nations has long been the cornerstone of our foreign policy. It is virtually bred in the bone of Canadians' international personality. A long line of distinguished Canadians from John Humphrey to Lester Pearson to Louise Arbour to Louise Frechette have served its goals with imagination and dedication. It is in this spirit that we are making efforts to adapt the Organization to meet the human security challenges of the new century.

Earlier this week, I was at the Security Council for a special session on the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This meeting underlined to me the dual dynamic at work at the United Nations; on the one hand the world of limousines, grand meeting halls, and indeed, fine speeches by statesman; and on the other, the reality of violence, deprivation and suffering to which so many ordinary people are subject — the alleviation of which is the Organization's *raison d'être*.

The UN's founding document, with its emphasis on we the peoples — not we the member nations, nor we the heads of state, nor we the ambassadors — already makes the promotion of human security a clear, guiding principle.

We now need to give new meaning to these words, to make the UN's actions more relevant to the security and welfare of individual human beings, in a way, to give the Organization back to the world's people for whom it was founded.

That is why Canada sought election to the Security Council. It remains the only global body with a mandate for maintaining peace and security. Yet it has not always resolutely risen to the challenges posed by new security threats.

Indeed, as a result of big power politics, absolutist notions of sovereignty held by some of its members, and selective engagement in certain conflicts and not others, the Council has sometimes shrunk from its obligations — in the process making itself less rather than more relevant.

Our goals in taking a seat at the Council table were threefold: to reassert the Council's global leadership, to make its operations more transparent and linked to wider developments in the UN system; and above all, to reflect the new realities of global peace which increasingly turn on matters of human security. In short, we are working to build a Council for the new century, not the last.

About this time last year I addressed another group here in Montreal. I laid out how we planned to achieve our goals. Twelve months later, I believe that we have made some progress and that we have made a difference.

The tragic, plain truth of modern armed conflict is that ordinary people — innocent civilians — suffer most. In World War I, 5 percent of casualties were civilian; today that figure is closer to 80 percent.

Civilians are direct targets of war and live on its battlefield. They have increasingly become tools in warfare — herded about to destabilize governments, pressed into military service, held hostage, exploited sexually, used as human shields. They are exploited and terrorized by the new war economies where modern-day warlords sell resources to fund violence. And humanitarian workers, seeking to mitigate the effects of conflict on the vulnerable, also find themselves more at risk.

Such attacks against civilians are most often carried out with impunity in direct violation of international law.

Clearly, the victimization of civilians is not an incidental result of modern armed conflict, but a central component. As a result, the protection of civilians must figure at the top of Security Council concerns.

To this end, we initiated a debate at the beginning of our Council term to raise awareness and shape action. The result was a comprehensive report by the Secretary-General on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, presented to the Council this past September, and the unanimous adoption of a Council resolution, drafted by Canada.

The report suggests a blueprint for action — forty recommendations containing measures the Council and the international community should take to increase both the physical and legal protection of civilians.

The key recommendations include efforts to: implement practical measures to prevent conflict, including preventive peacekeeping and monitoring deployments; strengthen the UN's ability to respond rapidly when a crisis breaks out, including rapidly deployable units and mission headquarters; impose arms embargoes; make greater use of targeted sanctions against belligerents; underscore that civilians must have unimpeded access to humanitarian assistance; authorize missions to close down hate media outlets; and in the face of massive and ongoing abuses of human rights and humanitarian law, to consider appropriate enforcement action.

Our initiative, and the Secretary-General's report, have put the human dimension of peace and security squarely on the Council agenda. There is good support among Council members to maintain the momentum of the report and to translate awareness into action. Canada now chairs a process aimed at locking in key recommendations.

In the meantime, we have made progress on other fronts.

The Council's authority to impose sanctions is a powerful and legitimate instrument for influencing the behaviour of belligerents, for resolving conflict and ultimately for ending human suffering. However, they have not always been effective, used for the right reasons, targeted properly, or avoided inflicting a high price on civilian populations. They need to be adapted so they hurt where they are supposed to hurt.

This is Canada's objective in the efforts we are making with regards to Iraq. Shortly after joining the Council, Canada made a proposal to move the issue forward in a way that would ensure the full respect by the Iraqi regime of its disarmament obligations while addressing the humanitarian impact of the sanctions and charting a clear path for their eventual suspension. This initiative helped to break the Council impasse and paved the way for the Council's decision last month to restore UN weapons inspections and to provide enhanced humanitarian measures.



In Angola, Canada as chair of the Council's Sanctions Committee has been working on practical ways to make the sanctions regime relating to the illicit trade in diamonds, weapons and petroleum, more effective. These measures are aimed at bringing an end to the senseless civil conflict that has claimed so many lives. If accepted — and successful — these new, targeted measures could provide a model for constraining the marketplace of war and in the process, help minimize suffering and save the lives of innocent civilians.

In the area of peacekeeping, the creation of new peace operations for Sierra Leone and East Timor are an encouraging signal of the Council's willingness to act to protect and advance the interests of civilians. At Canada's insistence, these missions, UNSOMIL in Sierra Leone, and first INTERFET and now UNTAET in East Timor, have mandates which explicitly include the protection of civilians and have been given the resources to do so — a first for the UN.

Earlier this week in New York, I signaled Canada's support for a robust UN operation in the DRC to help with the implementation of a peace agreement, including unambiguous authorization to ensure the security of civilians.

Finally, a word about Canadian efforts to make the Council's work more transparent. This may not sound riveting — it isn't. But changing the way the Council operates can have a real impact on its effectiveness, its credibility and ultimately the relevance of its actions.

Here, too, Canada has helped to open up its internal workings and decision-making process through: the exposure of Council members to an increasingly wide range of humanitarian actors and concerns; increased involvement of non-Council members in Council discussions; the linking of Council activities to the rest of the UN system; and updating the Council's working methods. Together, these changes are making the Council more accessible, accountable and democratic.

During our first year on the Council, Canada has made a difference. As a result of Canada's presence, the Council is taking concrete action to protect civilians in conflict. As a result of Canada's efforts, the Council now addresses issues that pose a direct threat to people — such as war-affected children, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons or the unprecedented Council meeting last month on the AIDS epidemic, unimaginable even a year ago. As a result of Canadian initiatives, the voice of human suffering — through the first ever appearance by the UNHCHR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] and the President of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] — is being heard, and listened to, at the Council table.

This is making the Council more relevant to people. This is real progress.



We have compiled a record of our work in the first year, which I am pleased to note is being made available to participants at this model UN and to the wider public. However, our Council term remains very much a work in progress. The challenges ahead are significant. With the promotion of human security our leitmotif, allow me to outline briefly some areas of focus for the next twelve months:

1. Follow-up to the Secretary-General's Report on the Protection of Civilians. To make a difference, the Secretary-General's recommendations need to be firmly and formally anchored in Council practice. Those that relate to activities outside the Council need to be pursued in the appropriate venue. By April, when Canada assumes the Council Presidency, we hope to reach agreement on implementing many of these proposals, especially those concerning the physical protection of civilians.
2. Bring consistency to the Council's consideration of conflict and human security crisis. The tendency for Council to ignore certain conflicts while focussing on others remains highly problematic. For example, far from the media spotlight, the long-running armed conflict in Sudan has taken over two million lives, with millions more injured or displaced. And there is little prospect for anything other than further human suffering. Yet it remains off the Council's radar. The Council needs to exert its influence to support regional mediation efforts now underway.
3. Launch a review of the Council's approach to sanctions. I mentioned earlier Canada's case-specific approach, in Iraq and Angola, to making sanctions regimes more effective and to mitigating their negative effects on civilians. This needs to be complimented by a more comprehensive re-examination aimed at making the sanctions process less ad hoc, better focussed, more rigorous, and more humane. To that end, Canada has commissioned a report by the International Peace Academy containing recommendations that could possibly form the basis for Council discussion.
4. Encourage full Council examination of humanitarian intervention. Last year two independent inquiries released their findings about the Srebrenica massacre and the genocide in Rwanda. They were a devastating indictment of Council failure and inaction in the face of appalling humanitarian crisis. The Council's paralysis during the Kosovo crisis demonstrates it has yet to come to grips with this issue. In a groundbreaking statement to the General Assembly in September, the Secretary-General laid out the challenges. The stakes are high. Council members — indeed the entire UN membership — need to engage in this debate.
5. Reassert the UN's leading role in peacekeeping. The tendency to rely on ad hoc "coalitions of the willing and paying" — rather than UN operations — to undertake robust peacekeeping is disturbing. Whatever the reasons — political, financial, capacity, or risk aversion — this trend must be reversed. The voluntary approach places undue burdens on those able to pay, and erodes the principle of universal

participation in collective security enshrined in the Charter. And when the UN is assigned a task — it must be given the mandate and resources to do the job. Srebrenica and Rwanda are tragic reminders of what happens when this is not the case.

6. Further strengthen links between Council activity and the larger human security agenda. For example, the needs of war-affected children — a Canadian priority — is a matter of considerable international concern. Last week in Geneva, the Optional Protocol on Child Soldiers was agreed to. This spring Canada and Ghana will co-host a seminar in Accra, and later this year Canada will hold an international conference on the subject to move global action forward. The subject is also on the Council agenda. We need to ensure Council efforts are complimentary to these non-Council initiatives.

Without a doubt, this is an ambitious agenda for Security Council renewal. However, to maintain its relevance there is little alternative but to adapt the Council to the changed realities of international life, to the new global dynamic that is putting the promotion of human security and safety at the forefront of concern and action.

It is, therefore, an agenda that we are committed to pursuing — an agenda firmly rooted in Canada's tradition of support for the United Nations and resolutely dedicated to achieving its lofty aspirations.

I hope that you have the opportunity to debate and exchange some of the ideas I have laid out this evening. To assist you, we have updated the *Canadian Reference Guide to the UN*, designed to help Canadians understand the UN and Canada's role. I am pleased to launch this new edition here and to provide all of you with a copy, and to present your Secretary-General with a commemorative bilingual edition in recognition of this 10th anniversary of the McGill Model UN.

Thank you.



# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/3

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS STEERING GROUP MEETING

MOSCOW, Russia  
February 1, 2000  
(9:15 a.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I would like to begin by thanking our co-chairs for organizing this meeting and thanking Foreign Minister Ivanov for his hospitality.

There is cautious optimism today that we are once again moving closer to the elusive goal of comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. This is welcome news for all of us — but mostly for the people of the Middle East.

From the outset, the prospects for peace have been clearly linked to bilateral negotiations, and to the willingness of the region's leaders to make them successful. This remains the case today, and the signs are promising.

The determination and commitment of the peace process co-sponsors is no less indispensable. In that regard, I wish to acknowledge the tireless efforts of the “handmaiden of peace,” Secretary Albright. Indeed, the advances made to date would have been impossible without her engagement and U.S. leadership.

Canada joins others here in welcoming progress and encouraging the parties — guided by the principles set out in United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 — to maintain the current momentum for lasting peace.

However, the global community's encouragement alone is not enough. We also need to provide concrete support. That is why we are gathered here in Moscow.

Without doubt, the responsibility for sustainable peace lies with those directly concerned. As a result, the focus must remain primarily on direct negotiations. However, an effective multilateral track can contribute to these efforts by building confidence and trust among the parties. And sooner or later, the international community will be called on to help in the implementation of peace agreements.

The moment is right, therefore, for us to review the state of the multilateral track and to consider the role it might play in supporting the renewed drive for peace.

The objectives of multilateral efforts have been to address subjects that go beyond the province of any one set of bilateral negotiations and to serve as a means for co-operation on important issues that affect the daily lives of people. For Canada, as chair of the Refugee Working Group [RWG], this remains the essence of our work.

The situation of refugees, a key human security concern, is an important element of the multilateral process. The actions of the RWG, like those of the other groups, have been affected by the past vicissitudes of the bilateral track. Nevertheless, with the support of the core parties, the work of the RWG has continued. I have tabled today a report on its activities.

The RWG has undertaken missions to refugee camps in the West Bank/Gaza Strip and in Jordan. Similar missions have been conducted to Lebanon and Syria. These have

served as a way for refugees to speak directly to the international community about their concerns and needs. The result has been concrete projects, such as the program for university scholarships for Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon, supported by Qatar, Canada and other donors.

The Group has also worked to assist the parties in speeding up and expanding the family reunification process. In addition, Canada and Kuwait have funded a project, to be completed by year's end, to relocate close to 500 Palestinian refugee families from the Sinai back to Gaza. Egypt, Israel and the Palestinian Authority should be commended for their co-operation in this area.

Support for UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] is another concern. Canada uses every occasion to emphasize that UNRWA must have adequate resources to continue being a source of stability.

Allow me to take this occasion to underline the exemplary contribution of the RWG's "shepherds": France, Norway, Italy, the United States, Sweden, Switzerland and the European Union.

For our part, Canada understands that leadership of the RWG must be matched by tangible support for Palestinian refugees and the peace process. As a result, our contribution to UNRWA has increased more than 40 percent since 1997. Over the past five years, we have contributed \$130 million to programs in the region. This includes projects — from meetings to virtual links via the Internet — aimed at increasing direct contact and understanding between Israelis and Palestinians.

In the past, the greatest challenge the RWG faced was finding the right balance between those with different approaches to its work. It managed, nevertheless, to help reassure the refugees that their plight had not been forgotten — primarily through activities to address their living conditions.

The beginning of permanent status negotiations has changed the political context in which the RWG operates. This suggests a new phase for the RWG. Without doubt, peace and stability cannot be achieved in the absence of a just solution to the refugee question. As we are all aware, the refugee issue has important regional and international dimensions, and in this regard I note the presence here of UN representatives.

The RWG can play a constructive role in the new circumstances. But what this role should be depends on clear direction, in particular from the core parties. I strongly encourage them to reflect on the support the Group can provide, both to their negotiations and to the implementation of an agreement.

To that end, I urge them to consider the contribution the RWG could make, not only in humanitarian terms, but also with regard to the international policy dimension of the issue.

It seems that a solution with a largely regional focus, respecting the rights of the refugees and offering them choices as to their future, is most likely to receive the support of the international community.

Finally, the provisions of an eventual agreement will involve considerable resources. In addition, expectations will be high that its terms will be implemented rapidly — indeed, the success of peace agreements will doubtless depend on it.

This requires preparation. Yet we are far from ready. As a result, I would recommend that the Steering Group consider whether we should not begin this important work now. To this end, I suggest that we call on the World Bank to assist us in carrying out this analysis.

All of this requires further, careful reflection. As part of this process, I propose that the RWG meet at the plenary level from February 29 to March 2 in Ottawa.

As for the future of the multilateral track as a whole, I am firmly convinced that it can make a greater contribution to the peace process. The emphasis on people, on issues that directly affect individual lives — safety, well-being and human rights — remains appropriate, and is perhaps even more relevant today than in 1992. And because the issues cut across boundaries and demand joint solutions — far from being a zero-sum game — it is a process that benefits all parties while advancing peace.

But to succeed, the multilateral track needs renewed energy. It is up to the regional parties — and here we would encourage Syria and Lebanon to now become full multilateral partners — to provide the impetus, to reiterate the commitment, and to articulate a clear direction for this process.

In contemplating the future, I would encourage them to make creative use of the Working Groups. Given the considerable expertise they can harness, these groups could be utilized not exclusively as vehicles for assistance projects, but for analysis and perhaps recommendations on shaping future relationships in the region.

As a practical matter, we also believe there is scope for collaboration and linkages between the Working Groups. The RWG, for example, might usefully collaborate with the Regional Economic Development and the Environment Working Groups. At the same time, we would encourage the co-gavels in the Arms Control and Regional Security Working Group to resume the activities of this important body.



Finally, we believe there might be scope for specific action in the area of anti-personnel mines under the Environment Working Group — as a way of saving lives and building confidence. Together, Canada, Norway, Israel and Jordan are already working to make the Jordan Valley a mine-free zone this year.

We have indicated to the Japanese gavel our willingness to co-ordinate mine action initiatives and to explore, at the appropriate moment, possible mine action in Golan, South Lebanon and West Bank/Gaza.

Now that the Steering Group has met again at the ministerial level, I believe we should continue the practice, perhaps rotating between meetings involving senior officials and those involving ministers. Canada would be pleased to offer to host a future meeting of the Steering Group.

Peace begins and ends with people. The impetus for peace is, ultimately, the security and well-being of the individual. This is no more or less true in the Middle East than elsewhere. It is certainly a focus of the multilateral process we are here to advance. Canada looks forward to working with all of our partners to that end.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

2000/4

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"CANADA AND RUSSIA:  
HUMAN SECURITY AND NORTHERN POLICY"

ST. PETERSBURG, Russia  
February 2, 2000  
(2 p.m. EST)





It is a pleasure to be here. St. Petersburg has long been the gateway to Russia's north and circumpolar neighbours, including Canada. With over four million inhabitants, at 59 degrees latitude, your city is also the world's largest truly northern metropolis.

Our relations were born in this city. This year we celebrate the centenary of Russia's first mission in Canada — a consular office in Montreal — where Nikolai Struve was consul. St. Petersburg remains a cultural magnet for Canadians: I for one have long admired your great poetess of the House on Fontanka, Anna Akhmatova.

It is a particular delight for me to be speaking at the Ethnographic Museum, whose recent exhibitions of Aboriginal art and handicrafts have had an enduring impact in Canada. I am grateful to the Museum's leadership for opening its doors to us.

The northern connection and Aboriginal heritage are two of the human bonds between our countries. Climate, geography, history and culture are also linkages. In my talks over the past two years with your talented foreign minister, Igor Ivanov, I have been pressing for a people-based approach to world affairs. The United Nations Charter begins with the words, "We the peoples...." It is not "we the members of the Security Council," "we the diplomats" or "we the states," but "we the peoples."

In the Canadian view, if we are to ensure that the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE] and other international bodies have better success this century in achieving their objectives, "we the peoples" have to become their central concern. We call this approach "human security."

What is human security? It is an approach that takes the protection and well-being of individual human beings as the main criterion for international action. In diplomacy, it establishes legal instruments, responsive institutions and tailor-made foreign policy tools to improve the lot of ordinary people.

The impact of this approach can be rapid and profound. Only one year after the entry into force of the Ottawa Convention banning landmines:

- the number of mine victims is declining;
- the once-flourishing trade in anti-personnel [AP] mines has all but vanished;
- 14 million stockpiled mines have been destroyed; and
- the number of mine-producing countries has decreased.

Russia embraced the Ottawa Process by banning landmine exports and undertaking eventually to sign the Convention. To ensure that these death traps continue to disappear, we are looking to Acting President Putin for a timetable for signature and for action on destroying Russian stockpiles.



The impact of the Ottawa Process goes well beyond the campaign to ban AP mines. The landmines campaign — and the overwhelming positive response to it — shows that a human-centred approach to global challenges makes sense.

It has provided new momentum and scope to the international legal framework that advances human rights and holds individuals accountable for their actions. It is no coincidence, for example, that after achieving the landmines ban, the international community moved to create the International Criminal Court.

Human security is also about the plight of war-affected children — young people under arms in conflicts from Colombia to Kosovo. Last month, an international consensus emerged on the need to ensure that military personnel under the age of 18 do not take a direct part in hostilities. This Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which also binds non-state actors, may ultimately save thousands of children from the scourge of war. It cannot save those who are already victims, such as those who endured the long civil war in Sierra Leone. But, at long last and with Russia's support, a UN-mandated peacekeeping operation, which makes the protection of civilians a central component, is now taking shape in that country.

Human security has to include a wide variety of non-state actors. In Africa, NGOs [non-governmental organizations] have too often been the only ones addressing basic human needs. In the Balkans, it is humanitarian organizations, not states, that have had the most positive impact.

But it is at the United Nations, and above all the Security Council, where responsibility for human security weighs most heavily — especially in situations of massive violations of human rights and humanitarian law. However, the Council's paralysis during the Kosovo crisis — which compelled NATO to intervene for humanitarian purposes — underlines that it has not yet come to grips with this difficult but pressing issue. For this reason, one year ago, Canada used its presidency of the Security Council to stimulate a discussion of the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

As we begin this new century, civilians are often the principal cannon fodder of war, especially wars that pit states against regions, and regimes against factions. In World War I, 5 percent of casualties were civilians; today that figure is closer to 80 percent.

In September, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan produced a road map for ending this carnage. His report *The Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict* sets out 40 recommendations for action, from measures to reduce the availability of small arms to more robust rapidly deployable military capacity on the part of the UN to meet these new security challenges.

I take pride in the role that Canada and Russia played last spring in bringing about a G-8 consensus that led to the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from the embattled province of Kosovo. Human security has been behind all of Canada's actions — past and present — to bring peace and stability to the western Balkans. It remains at the heart of our efforts to establish criteria and capacity for humanitarian intervention elsewhere in the world, which we hope Russia will support.

Russia is engaged in one conflict where the principles of human security are clearly at stake. Long before the current war, Chechnya was a dangerous place, a haven for counterfeiters and arms dealers. Canada and others have upheld Russia's right to deal with terrorists as we would: firmly.

And while we agree that terrorist acts must be dealt with, we also maintain that in doing so, all reasonable means must be taken to protect the very people that terrorism affects — the elderly, young families, individuals like you and me.

So then, if human security is integral to meeting the challenge of Chechnya, this basic question arises. Has the security of innocent individuals in Chechnya been enhanced by military operations so far?

In determining the answer, let us look at some of the facts. Russian sources cite 1200 Russian dead and thousands more injured. Chechen casualties are also high. Add to this civilian losses — as yet uncounted — which most agree are many times higher and continually growing. Grozny, a city where Russian authorities say that as many as 30 000 civilians still remain, has been under continuous, punishing bombardment. Few humanitarian NGOs are on the ground. No meaningful talks are under way. In human security terms, the record to date is deeply disturbing.

Canada has been a vocal critic of Russia's policy in Chechnya. We have called for a cease-fire. We have called for an OSCE role. But our overarching interest is in working with Russia to ensure stability and end terrorism in the North Caucasus for good. The tools — humanitarian assistance, peacebuilding projects and federalism — are available. Unfortunately, they are not yet being used.

In my ongoing discussions with Foreign Minister Ivanov — ones that are based on friendship — I stress that human security must be part of a lasting settlement in Chechnya. While I do not underestimate the scale of the challenges Russia faces in Chechnya, achieving long-term peace and stability will require a dramatic change in approach — one that shows the proper regard for the basic needs of civilians and a reinforced international humanitarian capacity, and that seeks a political solution through dialogue.



The Canada-Russia partnership has come a long way since the time of Nikolai Struve. We are now peers in the G-8, the UN Security Council, the OSCE, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum [APEC], even the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council. Our troops rub shoulders in Bosnia. Our combined diplomacy is at work in the Middle East. But our most direct tie is still an obvious one: the Arctic and the North.

The North has for me been a personal passion. As a native of Manitoba — with its vast northern expanses stretching up and along the shores of Hudson Bay — I attribute special meaning to the North. Manitobans have strong northern roots: a significant Indigenous culture, extensive natural resources, and the port city of Churchill — a bridge to the Arctic.

In the past year alone, I have covered ground from Bergen, Norway, to Egilsstaðir, Iceland; from Nuuk, Greenland, to Helsinki, Finland.

My commitment springs from hard facts. A sense of northernness has long been central to Canadian identity. This extends even to Canadians who have never been to the North. More and more often, they appreciate its vulnerability to nuclear waste and organic pollutants. They understand its unique rhythms and its environmental fragility. They also understand its growing importance to our security and our prosperity. The Arctic is a bridge to Eurasia, complementing our ocean and continental links. It also embraces our key foreign policy partners — the European Union, the United States and, naturally, Russia.

The North is becoming a central part of our foreign policy. It is fundamental to our sovereignty and our prosperity, to our natural environment and our Aboriginal heritage. In all of these areas, Russia is a privileged and principal partner for us. In the key fields of transportation, environment and natural resources, you are our number one partner in the circumpolar world.

Over the past 10 years, we have seen unprecedented institution building in the circumpolar North. I need not remind you of the ongoing work of the Nordic Council, the Council of Baltic Sea States, the Northern Forum, the Barents Council or indeed the Arctic Council which has taken the innovative step of inviting Indigenous NGOs to be full partners in the decision-making process. And under the leadership of your friend and neighbour, Finland, the European Union has made important efforts to develop a northern dimension to their foreign policy.

This is also a time of institution building in Canada's and Russia's relations in the Arctic and North. The challenge before us is to continue to define our shared values and interests; to put them into sharper focus, to make better use of the community of existing organizations and network of contacts in the circumpolar region; and to draw

on the our collective resources to provide benefits to our northern communities and implement our new visions for the North.

St. Petersburg's institutes of higher learning and the Arctic in general helped to drive our relations through their worst period: the Canada-U.S.S.R. Arctic Science Exchange of 1984 was arguably our best Cold War vehicle for advancing co-operation. Today we are looking to you for new and more ambitious projects, such as transpolar air routes for cargo and passengers to become a reality, and northern ports such as Churchill, Murmansk, and indeed, St. Petersburg itself to reach out to one another across the Arctic bridge, as they have since the 1940s.

I am making the North a centrepiece of ties with Russia because I recognize the potential: the Working Group on the Arctic and North, which I chair with Goskomsever Chairman Goman, and with support from Igor Ivanov, is open for business.

By taking the ideals and the practice of human security to heart, we will pick up the challenge of the North, and indeed of Canada-Russia relations: one of balance, prosperity and sustainability. We look to St. Petersburg as one of the centres for leadership on these issues. Together, we can make these challenges not, as Akhmatova says, a "Poem without a Hero," but rather a rich story with many heroes all around the northern circumference that our two countries span.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca

2000/5

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
AT THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

*THE HAUSER LECTURE ON INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW:  
HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS AND  
HUMANITARIAN CONSTRAINTS*

NEW YORK, New York  
February 10, 2000  
(2:15 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I am delighted to be with you this afternoon as the Hauser Lecturer on International Humanitarian Law. It is a great honour for me to be introduced by you, Professor Meron, and I am delighted to share this platform with you today.

Professor Meron, your capacity to generate ideas and stimulate debate in this area has been invaluable. Your project on Fundamental Standards of Humanity, for instance, touches on one of the central challenges we face in this new century, a challenge that I would like to address this afternoon — international protection of the people.

You are all well aware of the extensive body of international humanitarian and human rights law that has grown over the years in this area. That evolving corpus of law serves as an acknowledgment of the need to protect civilians as a code of our collective obligations and as a basis for international action.

There are times when events compel us to reassess our thinking and review our practice. We live in one of those times.

First, there is the reality that modern armed conflict puts people more directly at risk — in more varied ways and in greater numbers than ever. The victimization of civilians is no longer the tragic byproduct of war, but often the principal aim — and, more often than not, the main result of violent conflict.

At the same time, there is much greater awareness of the world around us. Consciousness stimulates conscience. Globalization has made individual human suffering an irrevocable universal concern. In our interconnected world, our own security is increasingly indivisible from that of our neighbours — at home and abroad. This conference is eloquent testimony to this new reality.

There is also dramatic change in the actors and instruments of global affairs. Civil society and non-governmental organizations [NGOs] are playing an increasingly important role. The Internet and more rapid communications improve people's capacity to connect directly, to participate in world affairs, and to mobilize support for the less fortunate.

There is, finally and perhaps most importantly, an increasing willingness to speak up — a disposition to take action on behalf of people regardless of who they are and where they are — and, in the process, to challenge the most absolutist notions of non-interference.

In this new global context, people — and not only the state — are subjects of international relations. The security and basic rights of people — not merely the absence of military conflict between states — are fundamental to world stability and peace.



This focus on protecting people is integral to Canada's human security agenda. It is a foreign policy approach aimed at putting people first by developing new concepts, adapting diplomatic practice and updating the institutions on which the international system is based.

Human security covers the entire gamut of international relations — from conflict prevention, to humanitarian intervention, to post-conflict remediation. Since the end of WWII, the principle of international protection of human rights has progressively gained weight at the expense of the most rigid interpretations of state sovereignty.

This does not mean that the state is obsolete. Quite the opposite. For one thing, international promotion of human security does not weaken sovereignty, but strengthens it by reinforcing democratic, tolerant, open institutions and behaviour. For another, the state remains the most powerful instrument for collective action.

Those who have suffered under colonialism and other outside involvement in their countries might well be sceptical. However, preventing abuse, stopping atrocities and dealing with the impact of war are also their issues, pertaining to their realities and clearly affecting stability in their backyards. Some argue that human security policies divert funds from the more basic priority of development. But far from being mutually exclusive, human security and human development are just opposite sides of the same coin. It is hard to improve one's GDP [gross domestic product] when so much of one's resources go to repair the damage of war and to mend broken lives.

Others who defend the strictest interpretation of sovereignty undoubtedly have more dubious motives. Sovereignty is clearly less and less of a shield behind which massive abuse can occur. This certainly must be disturbing to those given to violating the security and safety of their own citizens. And how curious that the most ardent defenders of state authority are the very ones who have few qualms about ceding it elsewhere to global economic institutions when their economic interests are at stake.

The paradigm of international politics is clearly shifting to take more direct account of the rights of people. So, too, is the practice. Indeed, as is often the case, practice is leading theory. The protection of people was the inspiration behind the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, a movement strongly supported by Canadians — and one that is producing global results.

Protecting people likewise provides the impetus behind Canada's active efforts to create the International Criminal Court; to curtail the proliferation and abuse of small arms and light military weapons; and to help war-affected children. For example, Canada led in developing consensus on the text of the recently announced protocol on the recruitment and deployment of child soldiers.

These are not discrete, unconnected events, but part of a wider effort to shape a world in which the security of people is defended.

Protecting people also requires updating our international institutions. Canada is doing so by integrating the human dimension into the work of the G-8, the OAS [Organization of American States], the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe], the Commonwealth, la Francophonie and the UN.

The UN Security Council has not always responded resolutely to the challenges posed by new human security threats. Canada, with other Council members, is trying to change that during our current term on the Council — and with some success.

Through Canadian efforts, among others, the protection of civilians in conflict is now firmly on the Council agenda. At Canada's initiative, the Secretary-General has prepared a report on the subject containing recommendations for action.

We will continue to promote human security at the Council. To that end, we plan to promote a more targeted approach to sanctions, work to reassert the Council's lead in peacekeeping, and continue to forge increased and more open links between the Council and others. Last but not least, we will continue to progress on the issue of humanitarian intervention.

Let me be very clear on this point. I am not talking about minor violations of human rights. There are other ways to censure such misgovernance. What I am talking about is international intervention to prevent or stop massive human suffering. Humanitarian intervention is called for only in severe cases — genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and massive and systematic violations of human rights and humanitarian law.

In these cases, the international community's record is not good. Consider the legacy of Pol Pot and Idi Amin. Consider the findings of the independent inquiries on Rwanda and Srebrenica. These reports are a catalogue of failure and inaction by the world in the face of enormous human suffering.

Certainly, preventive and non-coercive action is best — mediation, confidence-building, promoting good governance, democratic institution building, preventive deployment or sanctions. They should always be tried. Indeed, we should put a premium on improving capacity, increasing resources and acting sooner in these areas in order to avoid the necessity of stronger measures.

It remains true, though, that these actions are not always feasible and they don't always work. When they don't work, humanitarian intervention becomes an option. It is one of the most difficult decisions that leaders can make. It is fraught with complications. It challenges established thinking about the international order.



However, what validity is there to a rule of international law that cannot be enforced. A full discussion about humanitarian intervention is, therefore, unavoidable and indispensable, because we will undoubtedly be confronted with new humanitarian tragedies in the future; and because in the absence of clarity, we will certainly be faced with the same questions, the same paralysis and the same lack of preparedness — with the same tragic results.

The lack of action in Rwanda and Srebrenica raised the question. NATO's action in Kosovo sparked the debate. Last September, in a statement to the General Assembly, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan took up the challenge, laid out the arguments and made clear the stakes. It is now a discussion that the UN Security Council — indeed, the international community — must engage in.

In doing so, three issues need to be addressed: strengthening the norms and practices regarding the protection of civilians; mobilizing the political will to act when necessary; and developing the military and civilian capacity to succeed.

The basis for humanitarian intervention can rest on the UN Charter, developments in international humanitarian and human rights law, and perhaps most significantly, on Security Council practice.

The opening articles of the UN Charter refer not only to the maintenance of international peace and security but also to the reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person. This is a powerful symbol of the international community's obligation to protect people, and serves as the foundation for international action to that end.

International humanitarian and human rights law, specifically the Geneva Conventions and the Genocide Convention, support the Charter concerning international responses to crimes against humanity and war crimes. Article 1 of the Genocide Convention, for example, confirms that genocide is a crime under international law, which contracting parties undertake to prevent and to punish.

The creation of International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the adoption of a statute for the International Criminal Court further reinforce growing international consensus that those responsible for massive and systematic violations of human rights within state borders are neither immune from international law, nor can they escape international sanction.

Finally, the UN Security Council has authorized armed intervention for humanitarian purposes in a number of cases — Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia and East Timor. To be sure, the circumstances in each are different. There are nuances to the mandates. There are certainly questions about the results. But there is little doubt that, taken

together, these Council decisions recognize that genocide and other crimes against humanity cannot stand unchallenged.

Still, what are governments to do when the Council is divided and terrible crimes are being perpetrated behind the veil of sovereignty of an abusive state? The first issue that arises is whether the nature of the offence warrants outside intervention. In our view, that can only be the case when egregious acts of violence are being deliberately committed against the innocent. We have a very high test in mind. Once the judgment has been made that the violence — actual or threatened — meets this test, there are several considerations to weigh:

- **Urgency.** Has time run out on other peaceful dispute resolution instruments? Humanitarian intervention should be undertaken only when it is clear that all reasonable non-coercive efforts to prevent or resolve a conflict have been tried and have failed. The threat or occurrence of massive human suffering and loss of life is the key factor in determining the necessity of intervention.
- **Prevention.** Is there a danger that an intrastate conflict, if left alone, will proliferate and threaten regional or international security? Not intervening can have a destabilizing effect on regional security. Inaction in Rwanda, for example, has contributed to the spread of atrocities and civil conflict throughout central Africa.
- **Consistency.** All civilians are inherently equally worthy of protection. In practice, however, this raises questions of international will and capacity to act in each case. Should we intervene, for example, if we believe that we cannot improve the situation on the ground, or if it is clear that such a decision would merely lead to the spread of conflict? Consistency is obviously the goal. But for those who criticize humanitarian intervention on the grounds that it is inconsistently employed, I would ask: if the international community cannot intervene everywhere, does that mean we must not intervene anywhere?

Strengthening norms also requires mobilizing the will to act.

The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the focus around which action in these matters should be grounded, and the first place that the world's people look to for leadership when their security and safety are at risk. Canadians do — explaining our strong commitment to an effective Council.

That is why the Council must now resolutely rise to the challenge of humanitarian intervention. Yet, even while authorizing interventions on humanitarian grounds, some



Council members have been unwilling to consistently apply a broader definition of the Charter's peace and security mandate in response to today's conflicts.

Secretary-General Annan highlighted the resulting dilemma in this comment about Rwanda: "Imagine for one moment that, in those dark days and hours leading up to the genocide, there had been a coalition of states ready and willing to act in defence of the Tutsi population, but the Council had refused or delayed giving the green light. Should such a coalition then have stood idly by while the horror unfolded?"

In the face of deliberate, systematic, large-scale perpetration of atrocities against innocent people and if the Council is paralysed — do we still have an obligation to act? Surely, the answer is yes.

Parallels with the anti-personnel mines campaign come to mind. The human suffering inflicted by these weapons was enormous. The need, the demand and the imperative to respond were clear. Yet, the institution charged with action was incapable of doing so. An alternative route was taken — one that had tremendous support, one that produced results, one that was brought back into the UN, and one that, ultimately, strengthened the international system.

The cumulative weight of international human rights and humanitarian law, the global trend against impunity and for accountability that led to the creation of the International Criminal Court, the precedents set by the Council itself — all justify action in the face of severe humanitarian crisis and Council inability to acquit its responsibilities. Certainly, intervention in these circumstances must be exceptional and linked as closely as possible to the Security Council — before, during and after the conflict. But it must be an option.

This raises concerns in some quarters. Key to addressing these concerns and to mobilizing the will to act is a clearer framework within which intervention can occur — a framework that creates a permissive enough environment to stop massive and systematic violations of human rights, balanced with safeguards to ensure that it is not misused by states pursuing self-interested objectives. To that end, five important considerations come to mind:

- **Corroboration.** Is the severity of the crisis corroborated by a credible third party? Independent confirmation that a humanitarian crisis is imminent should be a prerequisite so that the international community is not drawn in to serve the political goals of one or more countries.
- **Practicability.** Can the humanitarian intervention generate a positive outcome for victims? Intervention should be undertaken when it is clear that with adequate

resources, a clear mandate and broad support, it could bring an end to acute and widespread suffering.

- **Scale.** Is the level of force appropriate to the circumstances? We should target the perpetrators of violence and the infrastructure on which they depend, while ensuring due regard for civilians and the environment.
- **Support.** Is the intervention multilateral in nature and widely supported? Unilateral interventions, for example, raise questions of abuse and/or self-interest by the intervener.
- **Sustainability.** Is the intervention part of a longer-term strategy to build and sustain peace? Humanitarian intervention should not necessarily be seen as a stand-alone activity or a Band-Aid solution.

Mobilizing political will is closely linked to the availability of adequate military and civilian capacity. At a time when requests for troops to help protect civilians in times of conflict are growing, governments must plan ahead and marshal the necessary resources to carry out new missions.

The capacity of the UN itself to manage complex missions is under great strain. A co-ordinated and integrated approach is required nationally and internationally to ensure that we are prepared. Rapidly identifying and mobilizing the necessary military and civilian resources is fundamental to the success of a decision to intervene for humanitarian purposes.

As Kosovo showed, it was not speeches condemning Serbian President Milosevic that stopped his actions — it was our willingness to undertake forceful action with strong international support. Yet at present, humanitarian actions such as these are carried out in an ad-hoc manner — by NATO, ECOMOG [Military Observer Group of the Economic Community of West African States] or coalitions of the willing, such as INTERFET, the multinational force deployed in East Timor.

Whatever the reasons, this trend toward a voluntary approach to enforcement action must be reversed. It places undue burdens on those capable of paying. More importantly, it erodes the principle of universal participation in collective security enshrined in the Charter.

We must also bear in mind that humanitarian intervention is aimed at providing immediate physical protection for people — a fundamental step, but usually only the first in building long-term stability and security. Building the capacity to succeed means not only providing collective resources for humanitarian intervention, but providing collective

— and adequate — resources, attention and priority for peacebuilding activities that follow.

In our new global circumstances, the international protection of the individual has taken on increased importance. It is the impetus behind Canada's human security agenda — our way of making the protection of people a top international priority.

The massive and systematic abuse of human rights is, tragically, an enduring feature of this new world. It is no accident, then, that the subject of the international community's response, including humanitarian intervention, should take on a renewed profile.

Discussion about humanitarian intervention is fraught with controversy. If there was some assurance that people would no longer be subject to the most extreme violations of humanitarian and human rights law, some guarantee the deliberate infliction of human suffering on a massive scale could be eliminated, and some prospect that past atrocities would not be repeated in the future — perhaps we could do without it. However, that is unlikely.

It would undoubtedly be far easier to duck the issue. It would silence the critics. It would assuage lawyers. It would satisfy finance ministries. However, there are those who most patently would not be better off, and who are ultimately the most concerned — the people subject to massive and systematic abuse. That is why humanitarian intervention is something we must address — the sooner the better.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca

2000/6

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF  
THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
February 11, 2000  
(1:15 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





It is an honour to address you today at this session of the OAS [Organization of American States] Permanent Council.

During a recent visit to the Caribbean and South America, I had the privilege of meeting Gabriel García Márquez. He remarked to me that when he is travelling in rural Colombia, villagers accost him and tell him that the magical, fantastic and unpredictable events in his fictional town of Macondo are humdrum compared with the reality they encounter daily.

It strikes me that this observation holds true for the reality of our experience throughout the Americas. From Ungava in Canada's Far North to Ushuaia at the southern tip of Argentina, the creativity, diversity and complexity of our hemisphere is undeniable and marvellous.

There is also much that binds us together — for example, the immigrant experience. This was brought home to me last month when I was warmly welcomed by the Welsh community in Argentina, where ancestors of mine lived before emigrating to Canada.

From these differences and commonalities, we in the Americas have built vibrant societies. Whether as Indigenous people or as relative newcomers from Europe, Asia and Africa, we have shared the hemisphere — not always easily, but certainly in a way that distinguishes the Americas from the rest of the world, that gives us unique perspectives and that makes us well placed to lead in addressing the challenges of the new century.

Throughout the hemisphere there is an increased desire to take advantage of these common ties for mutual benefit. When I speak with my counterparts, the conversation invariably turns to the notion that we need to reinforce the ties uniting us, to be more connected with each other, and to break down the old barriers of national borders, language and culture.

And there is little choice but to do so. Many of the threats we confront — such as the scourge of illicit drugs, the abuse of small arms and light weapons — are interconnected and already transcend frontiers. Many of the problems we have — such as the need to ensure the participation of all sectors in society's progress — are familiar to everyone. Many of the challenges we face — such as strengthening governance and human rights — are ones we all share.

All of these issues have a direct impact on people, in one way or another affecting their well-being or safety. At the same time, human security is central to the stability of our societies and fundamental to the prosperity of our hemisphere. Consequently, the focus of our common, hemispheric efforts needs to be on protecting people from threats. In other words, our focus should be on putting people first.

This means our collective institutions — with the OAS heading the list — should adapt to the demands of the human security agenda. And the Organization is already on the right track: it is proving increasingly responsive and flexible, particularly under the guidance of Secretary-General Gaviria.

We need to continue building an OAS for the new century, not the last one. With that goal, Canadians look forward to hosting the General Assembly this June in Windsor, Ontario. We are confident that Windsor will serve as another step in the process of renewal. As part of that effort, I will invite foreign ministers to participate in a general dialogue on human security, to take place on the first morning of the General Assembly.

In advance of this discussion and the General Assembly, I would like to outline today the challenges I see in the three areas of enhancing security, promoting inclusion and strengthening governance. I will also reflect on the Organization's role in responding to the challenges.

### **Enhancing Security**

Without a doubt, maintaining peace between states remains a key security concern in our hemisphere as elsewhere. In the Americas, the OAS must retain its traditional role in helping to resolve interstate conflict. Last year, the Organization helped consolidate a peace agreement between Ecuador and Peru. Through demining efforts, it remains active in implementing the agreement. Ambassador Luigi Einaudi, the Secretary-General's special representative, helped lower tensions between Nicaragua and Honduras and continues to work with the parties toward a permanent solution.

However, it is equally evident that threats to our security are evolving. They are often inter-related and have a direct impact on individuals. As a result, they demand innovative, people-oriented solutions.

The drug trade, for example, is stimulated by growing consumption and supply throughout the hemisphere. It feeds corruption and distorts value systems, benefits the money launderers, supports an illegal trade in small arms, and even sustains guerrilla and paramilitary forces. Over time the dynamics of the drug problem may have changed but our citizens continue to pay the human, economic and social costs.

Through the development of the Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism (MEM), CICAD [the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission] has proven that our institutions can respond. The Ministerial drug dialogue process, initiated by Canada last year, was an effort to complement CICAD by bringing a human security focus to this major hemispheric threat.

As a follow-up to both the drug dialogue and my January meeting with a number of CARICOM [Caribbean Community] foreign ministers, I am examining means to strengthen the Internet-based system originally developed by CICAD with the aim of reinforcing Caribbean efforts to combat the trafficking in, and abuse of, illicit drugs. Such a system would provide the information needed for prevention, treatment and rehabilitation. It would also facilitate the exchange of information on experiences and best practices.

The drug problem is most keenly felt by the least fortunate: the street children, the dispossessed who must live with its impact every day. Their voices need to be heard and their experiences shared. Using high and low tech, we need to find creative ways to bring the drug dialogue from the chanceries to the streets and to help the victims of drugs in the process.

Our youth suffer disproportionately from conflict and violence. Some lose their families and end up on the streets. Others are physically and psychologically abused. Still others lose all landmarks of normalcy: their schools, their homes, their parks and playgrounds. Whether they are street children, victims of sexual exploitation or child soldiers, the security of so many of our children and youth is at risk.

The condition of war-affected children is particularly acute. That is why Canada worked hard on the recently concluded Protocol on recruitment and deployment of child soldiers (and allow me here to welcome Colombia's decision to retire all of its military personnel under the age of 18). That is also why Canada will host an international conference later this year to address the problem and find solutions. Children in this hemisphere continue to suffer as a result of past and current conflict. Some of our countries also have considerable experience coping with the challenges — experience that might be used to help children elsewhere.

Canada will therefore propose that a strong resolution be adopted at Windsor calling for the participation of all countries of the Americas in working on specific measures to protect war-affected children in the hemisphere.

The Americas have led the world in addressing new human security threats. We are dealing with illegal trafficking in firearms: the Inter-American Convention on the subject was a global first. Countries of the hemisphere were among the first and most resolute supporters of the Ottawa Process and the Ottawa Convention banning anti-personnel mines, and we continue to show the way in demining and rehabilitation efforts.

A hemispheric security review was mandated by our leaders at the Santiago Summit, and it is now under consideration by the OAS Hemispheric Security Committee. This is further evidence of willingness to adapt our security structures to the new realities. The



review must proceed flexibly, bring civilian and military authorities to the same table, and focus attention on human security threats as well as traditional security concerns.

## **Promoting Inclusion**

All of our citizens must be able to live in societies that reflect their interests, satisfy their legitimate aspirations and guarantee real participation in the political, economic and social life of our countries. This is a cornerstone of human security. Yet this basis patently does not exist in some of our societies and it certainly could be strengthened in all of them.

Globalization offers many advantages but it can exacerbate the problems: its benefits may bypass large segments of our populations and its frantic pace may leave already marginal groups even further behind. The impact is clearly being felt in our own hemisphere in such forms as increasingly uneven distribution of income, skewed access to the tools of progress, and disenchantment with the market system. I believe we need to find an opportunity to discuss the impact of the darker side of globalization on our societies.

In the meantime, the OAS — indeed, the entire family of inter-American institutions — must endeavour to reflect the needs of all sectors of our societies.

From Patagonia to Nunavut, Indigenous peoples are often the most marginalized and at-risk groups. Negotiations are moving forward on the proposed Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Populations, including the full and effective involvement of Indigenous peoples.

Strengthening the impact of the adoption of the Declaration would be institutional renewal of the Inter-American Indian Institute [III]. At the Secretary-General's request and in partnership with Mexico, the Government of Canada and the Canadian Assembly of First Nations (under the leadership of National Chief Phil Fontaine) are prepared to consult with both states and Indigenous peoples about revitalizing the Institute. Our hope is to see a proposal at Windsor for a renewed Institute that could help respond to the real needs of Indigenous peoples.

Promoting gender equality and women's human rights is also essential. Canada strongly supports the efforts by the Inter-American Commission of Women to place a gender perspective in the mainstream of OAS activities, and we endorse the hiring of women for OAS executive positions. This April, Washington will be the site for the first-ever meeting of hemispheric ministers responsible for the status of women. The meeting will endorse the Inter-American Program on Women's Human Rights and Gender Equality. This is an important step forward. We will have an opportunity to review progress at Windsor.

We ignore civil society at our peril; Seattle showed us why. The adoption by the OAS of guidelines for civil society participation makes clear that this Organization has anticipated the need to engage new partners. Including civil society partners is essential to making our hemispheric institutions more relevant to the needs of our citizens. Non-governmental actors — with their viewpoints, their special expertise, their resources — can play an important role in realizing common goals and ensuring the future vitality of our Organization.

Canada already consults widely in the development of our own hemispheric policy. We are bringing this spirit of partnership to Windsor. In collaboration with the OAS Unit for the Promotion of Democracy, Canada's International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development will hold a three-day conference to coincide with the General Assembly, on the topic of "Hemispheric Integration and Democracy in the Americas." I will address the conference and I hope other foreign ministers and delegates will join me.

The process of inclusion applies between states as well as within them. In that regard, the interests of small states cannot be ignored by larger ones. The work of the OAS Trade Unit — initiated by Canada and others — has proven useful in aiding smaller states in trade negotiations, particularly in the context of the FTAA [Free Trade Area of the Americas].

This type of assistance by the OAS should be reinforced. Last year's drug dialogue session focussed attention on the disproportionate impact of the illicit drug trade on the small island states of the Caribbean, and smaller countries in Central and South America. The Internet connectivity project I referred to earlier is an example of concrete assistance that can develop as a result. Efforts to promote the inclusion of all the hemisphere's small states must go further. They deserve a greater voice in the Organization itself.

### **Strengthening Governance**

If inclusion is a cornerstone of human security, the bricks and mortar are promoting democratic values, tolerance, respect for human rights, and stable political institutions. In this regard, we have had much to celebrate in the past decade.

Yet recent events in Ecuador give us pause to reflect. The hemisphere responded rapidly and resolutely. The OAS sent a strong message that constitutional governance was of the utmost importance, and it played a leading role in ensuring the continuation of civilian rule.

Nevertheless, Ecuador's situation underlines the fragility of governance there and elsewhere in the hemisphere. Where support is needed, the OAS should help. That

was one of the purposes behind the establishment of the OAS Unit for the Promotion of Democracy. Indeed, effective hemispheric institutions and initiatives can go a long way toward building stable, coherent, national institutions — and vice versa.

This symbiotic relationship applies to the promotion of human rights. However, the current inter-American human rights system is in difficulty. We all recognize this. Through discussion here and through the Ad Hoc Working Group (meeting in Costa Rica this week), attempts are underway to reform it. Canada would like to see a greater financial commitment by the OAS to the Commission. The Commission itself must also adopt more expeditious procedures.

The best institutions for the protection of human rights still are effective national human rights institutions, such as human rights commissions and ombudsman offices. The Canadian Human Rights Commission already supports several ombudsman offices. But there is room for more. The OAS can play a valuable role in co-ordinating linkages between these institutions throughout the Americas — for example, through the establishment of a Co-ordinating Office of National Human Rights Institutions. This is an idea I would like to pursue further in Windsor.

Our parliamentarians are on the front line of governance. Links between them at the hemispheric level can consolidate democratic practice at home and expand co-operation in a variety of areas. Those are the purposes behind Canada's support for a Parliamentary Network of the Americas. I am encouraged that, as a first step, chairs of our respective parliaments' foreign affairs committees will meet next month.

We can also make common cause to improve the administration of justice. Our citizens deserve a judicial process that protects, rather than subverts, their rights. Impunity often stems from the inability of national justice systems to function effectively. The reasons are well recognized: lack of resources, corruption, weak institutions and poorly trained officials. Multilateral solutions can help address the problems.

Brazil and Canada recently organized a hemispheric conference on police training, as part of a mandate from the Santiago Summit. This was a modest but worthwhile step. We now hope to build on it, extending the model to court officers and prison officials. Next month's meeting of the hemisphere's justice ministers is a means of moving this and other justice initiatives forward.

The recent establishment of the OAS Justice Studies Centre of the Americas further extends the hemisphere's role. With an effective mandate, the new Centre could serve as a useful tool to ensure that we all have coherent, functioning and fair justice systems. For example, it might examine how best to promote efforts to combat corruption and promote probity in the hemisphere.



However, good governance is not only about good governments. With globalization, more attention is being directed to the impact — positive and negative — of corporate behaviour. Corporations can play a constructive role in the promotion and protection of human rights, democratic development, conflict prevention, environmental protection and disaster response. On the other hand, some corporations can engage in activities that can compromise the security of the communities where they work.

It is therefore important to engage the corporate sector itself in order to raise the standards of behaviour in the hemisphere. To that end, I would like to find a place for global corporate citizenship on the Windsor agenda.

Perhaps the most promising initiative would be the development and implementation of principles of ethical conduct, including the protection of human rights. Our challenge in the lead-up to Windsor will be to establish a plan of action so that the proper players — states, corporations and civil society organizations — can be brought together.

Good governance also applies to hemispheric institutions themselves. This means making them coherent, taking advantage of new technologies and providing them with the resources to work effectively.

The Summit of the Americas process provides the momentum to revitalize the entire family of inter-American institutions and to ensure that they work together efficiently. I propose to invite the heads of the IADB [Inter-American Development Bank], PAHO [Pan American Health Organization], the World Bank and ECLAC [the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean] to join our private dialogue with Secretary-General Gaviria and foreign ministers in Windsor prior to the General Assembly. The aim will be to explore broad themes in this area for the 2001 Québec City Summit.

Information technology has the potential to promote linkages between key partners in solving common problems. At this moment, such technology is allowing me to be seen and heard throughout the hemisphere, and indeed around the world, by means of a Webcast via the OAS Web site. We must take better advantage of it.

The new Inter-American Agency for Co-operation and Development will promote co-operation on technical assistance and has the potential to establish linkages between development institutions in our hemisphere. This is a positive step in OAS renewal. Canada would like to play a role on the Management Board, where our experience on development issues would be useful to the Agency during its first years.

Finally, as neighbours seeking co-operative solutions to common problems, we need to muster the collective will not simply to strengthen but also to maintain our institutions. The OAS and its specialized bodies continue to be constrained by a deep financial



crisis. Core programs are being left unfunded and new missions stemming from Summit mandates teeter precipitously on unstable foundations.

It is imperative that all member states in arrears establish payment plans and comply with them. We cannot demand ever more of the Organization while starving it of the resources it needs to function. I commend Secretary-General Gaviria for his efforts to cut costs and rationalize operations. We must now ensure that he has the support, tools and collective goodwill to fashion an institution for the 21st century.

## **Conclusion**

In his story "The Library of Babel," Jorge Luis Borges imagined a library in which every book ever written and still to be written could be found, all in no apparent order. Book after book was pulled down at random from the shelves by ever more frantic library users, producing only meaningless gibberish. But just as the library contained every book, there also existed a catalogue, a single volume that brought meaning to the cacophony.

As the OAS enters the new century, our challenge is to work together and find that catalogue for our efforts — to discard the meaningless and useless, to identify our common values and bring together our shared experience for the benefit of all our peoples.

Unlike Borges' unfortunate librarians, we need not depend on chance to discover the key. Our hemispheric catalogue begins and ends with the safety and well-being of our people. I have outlined three ways that can help advance this goal: enhancing security, promoting inclusion and strengthening governance. I look forward to working with you to that end now, at Windsor and beyond.

Thank you.



*International Trade*  
*Commerce international*

# *Statement*

---

[www.dfa.it-ma.eci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa.it-ma.eci.gc.ca)

2000/7

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE PIERRE S. PETTIGREW,  
MINISTER FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE,  
TO THE OTTAWA DIPLOMATIC ASSOCIATION  
AND THE  
DIPLOMATIC PRESS ATTACHÉS NETWORK  
AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

OTTAWA, Ontario  
February 16, 2000  
(1:30 p.m. EST)



Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères  
et du Commerce international

Canada



I want to say how pleased I was to hear about these two organizations — the Diplomatic Press Attachés Network and the Ottawa Diplomatic Association. As someone with a lot of experience in the international field, I know how important it is to have forums like this to build personal relationships and to discuss issues of international significance. Canada is proud of its friendly relations with the rest of the world community, and I am especially pleased to see so many of our friends here today.

I recognize that most of you spend a large part of your lives away from home in the service of your country. I consider that we are fellow "nomads" since my role as Minister for International Trade also takes me away from Canada quite frequently — indeed, frequently enough to share your appreciation of the fact that travelling and experiencing other cultures as we do is a learning experience. It stays with you and gives you a much deeper and broader appreciation of our shared humanity and of the international relationships that bring us closer together.

One very important aspect of those relationships, of course, is international trade.

In recent years — and particularly in the past few months — we have heard a great deal about the energetic debate on trade and about globalization generally — in the media, and even on the street!

I think that this is very healthy, and I welcome it.

I welcome it because I think that, eventually, the more we talk about it, and the more we discuss it, the more we go over all the pros and the cons, the more chance we will have of improving our understanding of the forces at work, and of agreeing on how to shape them.

There are those, of course, who believe that the suspension of the World Trade Organization [WTO] talks in Seattle meant a very serious reduction — if not the end — of our attempts to complete the unfinished work of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], and to continue to harness the rules-based trading system to achieve world prosperity and security.

That is not the case at all. Just as we survived the Y2K scare, we survived Seattle! Lessons are being learned and applied. The work continues.

And in fact, that work has become even more important because we are now into a new era of trade discussions. It is an era that I would call "trade-plus" — trade plus labour, trade plus the environment, trade plus democracy, trade plus reform.

All of these issues must be part of the discussion, because they are vitally important to our citizens. The debate that has been building over the last 10 years or so is not just about trade and investment: it's about what societies want to become, and what they want to remain, in an era of accelerating change. Technology, trade, investment —



these are just the agents of change. Ironically, those who fear the dark side of change are "throwing the baby out with the bathwater": they are forgetting that these same forces can — and do — bring jobs, development, poverty reduction, rising environmental and labour standards, and a host of positive changes that no one wants to undo. So, as the debate rages, let us not forget two fundamentals: first, the trade agenda, at heart, is about economic prosperity; and second, it is an integral part of a broader socio-economic agenda — within our countries, and across borders — that embraces the range of economic, social and political realities that we face together, ranging from environmental management to cultural diversity to human security.

This is just the latest chapter in a book begun over half a century ago.

Markets don't exist in a vacuum! Our current international trading system is rooted largely in the hopes of the World War II generation. They wanted to build a more stable, more predictable, and ultimately, a more peaceful world.

That was the sentiment that inspired the GATT — of which Canada was a founding member — and it is the same sentiment that drives the WTO.

As governments, we have to remind our citizens of the historic benefits that more open markets have given the world over the past half century. They have contributed enormously to the prosperity and growth of both developed and developing countries. In Canada, the benefits of trade have flowed to every part of society.

At this juncture, we must present a plan for the future that explains how we can build stronger economies and create jobs through trade while still leaving room for national communities to be what they want to be.

This has a special meaning for us in Canada, because, as you know, Canada is now, proportionately, one of the largest trading nations in the world.

Seven years ago, about 30 percent of our gross domestic product [GDP] was trade-related, and today that figure is over 43 percent!

Compare that to the United States, for example, which exports only 11 percent of their GDP. Proportionately, it's four times less than Canada.

Compare that to Japan, which exports only 15 percent of their GDP. Proportionately, it's a little more than a third of what we do.

Nearly one third of all jobs in Canada depend on trade!

And it is not all commodities either. Commodities represent only 32 percent of our exports. So, we are becoming a knowledge economy, exporting our services, our expertise, and a lot of other things as well.

I know that a myth still exists in some parts of the world that the success of the Canadian economy is dependent on the export of commodities. It is certainly true that, over the years, our natural resources have been a tremendous source of wealth for our people. In fact, they still account for about 32 percent of our exports, and thus represent an important and valued source of export revenue to the Canadian economy.

But, it is also important to recognize that this is about half what it was in 1980. And if commodities now account for less than one third of Canada's exports, that means more than two thirds are non-resource based. So, it is very clear that the Canadian economy has changed!

Most of our exports are now high value-added goods and services — Canadian companies are world leaders in telecommunications, aerospace, software, environmental technologies, and other areas of the new economy. Anyone who has visited the high-technology companies around this city, for example, will know what I am talking about.

Don't misunderstand me — we are very proud of our image as a country with vast forests; abundant energy; mineral wealth; agricultural products; and a natural beauty that draws tourists from all over the world. But we also want the world to know that the greatest resource in Canada today is its people. That is why we have a high-tech, knowledge-based economy — one that wants to share its technological leadership and goods and services with countries and business partners everywhere — one that has built this modern economy firmly on its strengths.

All these positive statistics about Canada's export activities serve to underline the fact that, if protectionism arises around the world again as it has done regularly in the history of humanity, we'll be in much more trouble than some of the larger economies.

What this means is that a country like Canada needs a rules-based international trading system and, as a government, we are completely committed to helping to build a better, more secure and more predictable system.

We benefit enormously from more open and more secure markets, and we will always promote the freer flow of goods, services and people across all borders around the world.

## **Lessons from recent travel**

Since Canada and, I believe, the world, has a lot to gain from the strengthening of the rules-based international trading system, I have devoted a considerable amount of time over the past three months to discussing the challenges that came to the fore in Seattle. I am by no means of the view that the setback in Seattle was due to what transpired in the streets. Rather, I believe it was entirely within the walls of the Convention Centre.

Even so, I think we must all recognize that many people have serious, and often quite legitimate, concerns about the relationship of international trade agreements to other areas of importance such as the environment, culture, and labour and human rights. But, even though I think we cannot dismiss these concerns, I do feel that the WTO cannot be relied upon to solve all of these problems. Nor do I think trade has created these problems. Indeed, the bulk of the evidence suggests that trade advances social development.

I have met recently with representatives of the International Monetary Fund [IMF], the World Bank, the International Labour Organization [ILO], and the UN Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], as well as with my trade counterparts from the United States and many European countries, including France, Britain and Switzerland. I have also spoken by phone with many other of my international counterparts. In these discussions, I have dealt with several of the key challenges facing us as trade ministers — challenges that belong in that broader international agenda I mentioned earlier.

I have been stressing the importance of ensuring coherence between the activities and policies of these and other international institutions. I have also highlighted the need to bridge both the north/south divide and United States-European Union differences, which are major in the area of agriculture. Both divides go to the very heart of what the WTO should be taking on at this time. To help address north/south issues, I have proposed a two-pronged approach focussed on capacity-building and confidence-building measures. I believe that these messages have struck a resonant chord.

My objective is to pursue agreement on the management of the WTO post-Seattle agenda in both the short and longer terms. We need steady and visible — but not precipitous — progress. We must build a broader consensus on the way ahead, engage other international organizations in a coherent approach, and develop agreement on a package for developing countries.



## Our approach

These discussions have helped me begin to flesh out a general approach that I think will meet with broad support. Our plan is to work in several different areas at once to achieve our goals. In the shorter term, I think we should focus on what I call confidence-building measures that will set the scene for constructive dialogue and consensus-building. These measures include:

- getting on with the agriculture and services negotiations, as agreed last week in Geneva;
- making progress on other elements of the WTO's ongoing work, such as built-in reviews and accession negotiations; to this I would add agreeing on practical means of handling continuing discussions on specific implementation issues, for both developed and developing members;
- developing ideas on how we might reform the WTO to ensure that it becomes more efficient and transparent; and
- developing bilateral and regional trading relationships.

Another set of activities has both a short- and a long-term component. For our purposes, I'll call it capacity-building, and it includes:

- creating greater coherence and better co-ordination among international bodies in addressing the broad challenges of sustainable development; and
- meeting the needs of least-developed countries.

As I am speaking to a knowledgeable audience, I hope you will permit me to spend just a minute or two on each of these areas to tell you more about what I mean.

## Agriculture and services

WTO members agreed last week to launch the built-in negotiations aimed at further liberalizing trade in agriculture and services at the end of this month.

We have a vested interest in helping to make sure that the talks on agriculture go well. Canadian farmers are suffering because of subsidies paid to the agricultural sectors of many of our trading partners. Strong progress on agriculture would be a powerful incentive to begin a broader-based round of negotiations a year or so down the road; broader negotiations, in turn, would help the agriculture talks.

Progress on services would also be an important sign that global trading rules are evolving to meet the demands of a new world economy increasingly based on rapid technological change.



Canada has made it clear that the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) must remain a "bottom-up" agreement — an agreement that allows countries the flexibility to liberalize services they feel will benefit their societies, while keeping the right to preserve their vital social interests.

### **Getting on with other WTO work**

You are all aware, I am sure, that the regular work of the WTO is already of staggering breadth and complexity. There are built-in reviews in such areas as technical barriers to trade; there are constant trade disputes; there are examinations of members' trade policies; there are accession negotiations ranging from China to Vanuatu. The Organization is alive and relatively well: we must use it to good effect. In particular, there is a clear need for a two-track approach to implementation issues — and despite my experience at Seattle, I will not use the "i-word" only to mean developing countries' concerns, for they are broader. The tracks are, on the one hand, political oversight of how members are dealing with the Uruguay Round commitments; and on the other, maintaining steady progress in Committee examinations and discussions of members' implementation of commitments.

### **Reforming the WTO**

The World Trade Organization is indispensable. It cannot be allowed to stagnate and become irrelevant. But, just as the GATT evolved into the WTO, the WTO itself must continue to change — both internally and externally — if it is to remain an effective international trade mechanism.

WTO membership has grown enormously in the past 15 or so years, from about 90 members to 135. China and other members are poised to join. The burden of dispute settlement cases continues to grow. This places strains on its organization and its decision-making processes.

Internally, the WTO needs something to bridge the gap between the inclusiveness of the General Council, with all the members, and the efficiency of smaller but necessarily exclusive groupings. This could come in the form of a guiding council or committee that could include members from both developed and developing countries. This new structure would make the WTO look more like the world, and would make the world feel more at home in the WTO. It could also serve as a vital co-ordinating body and sounding board that would identify obstacles and solutions at an earlier stage of discussion. Fleshing out these and other issues will take much reflection by ministers, and their advisors.

Externally, the WTO must become more open and transparent, particularly in the dissemination of information to its members' citizens. Our citizens have high democratic

expectations, and the Internet and modern communications make it easier than ever before to get information out to people around the world.

To passive communication we must also add active outreach, dialogue and education by member governments, as well as by the WTO and other relevant international organizations. I know there are practical and philosophical objections to greater external transparency, but I think it is a real challenge for all of us to overcome them: it does no one any good to fuel fears of the "black box of trade policy."

### **Developing bilateral and regional trading relationships**

The WTO is essential, but we also have to continue to work on regional and bilateral trade agreements that give countries the flexibility to build stronger links with specific trading partners or with whole regions.

We believe that as long as these agreements complement the WTO, they should be pursued.

Canada, for example, is a member of the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA] along with the United States and Mexico. But we also have free trade agreements with Israel and Chile, and are negotiating a hemispheric free trade pact, the Free Trade Area of the Americas [FTAA]. In addition, we continue work on an agreement with the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] and have begun consultations on negotiating a free trade agreement with Costa Rica. And we are, of course, members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation [APEC] forum.

Let me turn briefly to what I termed capacity-building activities:

### **Creating greater coherence and better co-ordination among international bodies**

Too often, countries are caught in a bureaucratic tug-of-war between the widely divergent, often contradictory policies of key international organizations. We have heard of far too many instances in which the IMF, for example, tells a country to do one thing while the WTO tells it the opposite.

That is why Canada has argued for both coherence and co-ordination among our many international organizations. We have to ensure that the WTO works in co-ordination with the IMF, UNCTAD, the ILO, the UN Environment Program [UNEP], and others.

It is vitally important that the international system work as a true system, not as a collection of disparate, unco-ordinated bureaucratic empires. It is equally important that policies be co-ordinated, both domestically and internationally: vast problems demand equally broad-ranging responses.

There are hopeful signs on this front. The recent agreement on a biosafety protocol is a very positive sign that all the nations of the world can work together and make progress on trade while protecting our global environment. Let's hope that this is a harbinger of things to come.

### **Meeting the needs of Least-Developed Countries**

For many years, Canada has played an important role in easing or eliminating tariffs for the world's least-developed countries.

We believe that they *must* be given adequate time to retool and to prepare for the demands of greater competition within a global system. This requires a mix of measures, going beyond market access to trade-related technical assistance. Coherent efforts to help the poorest countries realize growth through trade are promoted by exercises such as the Integrated Framework, which Michel Camdessus of the IMF and others are committed to re-energizing.

As chairman of the Working Group on Implementation at the Seattle Ministerial, I am pleased to report that we made important progress on further moves to ease the burden on least-developed countries in a variety of ways. I am hopeful that, along with Quad members, we will make further headway in this area this year. In mentioning the Quad, I do not restrict my ambitions: I think that helping the poorest is the duty of all our countries.

### **Conclusion**

We saw in the lead-up to Seattle that many members considered that a persuasive case had not yet been made for a broader negotiation. You may have noticed from my comments that Canada is still in favour of such a negotiation, but we acknowledge that the case has to be built: our public and our trade partners both demand it. The thrust of our approach, and of a great deal of domestic activity besides, is to restore confidence and to build that case. I want to conclude by telling you that despite some of the gloom of the past few months, I am very optimistic that we will have made a great deal of progress on these issues by the end of the year — we Canadians, and we the members of the international trading community.

I also want to say that I am very confident that Canada — the country that I am so proud to represent — is well-positioned to succeed in the age of globalization. We have a knowledge-based economy. We have experience with diversity. We build partnerships. And, we have a plan, of which open dialogue with our international partners is a key part.



In fact, Canada itself is proof that opening yourself up to the world and recognizing and celebrating the diversity that comes with it pays many dividends, both economic and social.

I strongly believe that our openness is one of the main reasons that we have become one of the strongest societies and one of the strongest economies in the world, despite our relatively small population.

I can also tell you that, as a government, we intend to keep promoting our agenda for a better, fairer and more open trading system that benefits people around the world.

That is the message we took to Seattle, and that is the message we will continue to deliver every chance we get!

I am pleased to have had the chance to be here today, and I want to say that I am very supportive of my department's work to build the dialogue with the diplomatic community within Canada too.

Thank you.





# Statement

---

www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca

2000/8

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS

BY

THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY LAW SCHOOL

ON

*CANADA AND HUMAN SECURITY*

CALGARY, Alberta  
February 17, 2000



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I am very pleased to participate in the University of Calgary's international law week. A forum devoted to the subject of international law as a millennium project could not be more appropriate.

International law, including international human rights and humanitarian law, is not static. It has evolved and adapted to a changing world. And the current global context is certainly defined by change. It is therefore timely to consider the impact recent shifts in global affairs are having on human rights and humanitarian law.

The most important development is that people, not just states, are increasingly the subject of global affairs and central to international concern. Assuring the security and rights people, not just the absence of conflict between states, is key to world peace and stability.

Professors Mahoney, Martin, Pask and other members of the Law Faculty know this. It is reflected in their valuable human rights research and work, especially gender-related issues.

Canada's foreign policy also needs to be updated to take into account this change — in other words to put people first. This is behind Canada's human security agenda — an approach to the world that makes sense for Canadians.

First, it responds to the fact that Canadian lives and interests are directly affected by the new global context. I speak from direct experience: during my first week as Foreign Minister I found myself dealing with the situation of Canadians directly affected by modern threats: a Canadian nurse victimized by conflict in Chechnya, a young Canadian couple in Paris victimized by an act of terrorism, and a Canadian victimized by kidnappings in Latin America.

This was no passing phase — ask Shirley Macklin from Winnipeg who was held hostage by terrorist hijackers in the Air India ordeal this past December or the six Albertan oil workers kidnapped in Ecuador last fall. As students, tourists, business people - indeed as ordinary Canadians — our lives and interests are clearly affected by global change.

The impact is felt not just abroad but at home. Consider the consequences of the drug trade on our youth, the use of our shores by smugglers of human cargo, and the spectre of global terrorism in our midst. The human security agenda addresses these problems of direct concern to Canadians.

It is also an approach that reflects Canadians' own experience and allows us to project this on the global stage. We have a history of accommodation. We built a country based on rule of law, tolerance, respect for the individual.



The Canadian emphasis on negotiation, creative ideas, and openness are precisely the tools we need to solve international problems. The human security agenda puts a premium on using these strengths to advance the well-being of people.

Finally, it is an approach that includes all Canadians, reflecting the new more inclusive realities of global governance that involves input and responsibilities for a variety of players. Governments continue to be important — but globalization, world markets, instant communications have given a role and profile to others.

The human security agenda takes advantage of new synergies and coalitions between governments, civil society, and the private sector. It also highlights the duties of all Canadians, not just government but individuals and companies, to act when human security is at stake.

In sum, putting people first is a foreign policy approach suited to Canadians' experience, needs, interests, and capacities. It is also an approach that is entirely suited to the realities of the world we live in, and in particular to the new dynamic of global peace and security.

First, there is the reality that modern armed conflict puts people more directly at risk — in more varied ways and in greater numbers than ever. The victimization of civilians is no longer the tragic byproduct of war, but often the principal aim — and, more often than not, the main result of violent conflict.

At the same time, there is much greater awareness of the world around us. Consciousness stimulates conscience. Globalization has made individual human suffering an irrevocable universal concern. In our interconnected world, our own security is increasingly indivisible from that of our neighbours — at home and abroad. This conference is eloquent testimony to this new reality.

There is also dramatic change in the actors and instruments of global affairs. Civil society and non-governmental organizations [NGOs] are playing an increasingly important role. The Internet and more rapid communications improve people's capacity to connect directly, to participate in world affairs, and to mobilize support for the less fortunate.

There is, finally and perhaps most importantly, an increasing willingness to speak up — a disposition to take action on behalf of people regardless of who they are and where they are — and, in the process, to challenge the most absolutist notions of non-interference.

In this new world, our lives are inextricably connected and we share a common destiny. Canada's human security agenda is aimed at developing new concepts, adapting

diplomatic practice and updating the institutions on which the international system is based, with a view to enhancing the well-being and security of all people.

Human security covers the entire gamut of international relations — from conflict prevention, to humanitarian intervention, to post-conflict remediation. Since the end of WWII, the principle of international protection of human rights has progressively gained weight at the expense of the most rigid interpretations of state sovereignty.

This does not mean that the state is obsolete. Quite the opposite. For one thing, international promotion of human security does not weaken sovereignty, but strengthens it by reinforcing democratic, tolerant, open institutions and behaviour. For another, the state remains the most powerful instrument for collective action.

Those who have suffered under colonialism and other outside involvement in their countries might well be sceptical. However, preventing abuse, stopping atrocities and dealing with the impact of war are also their issues, pertaining to their realities and clearly affecting stability in their backyards. Some argue that human security policies divert funds from the more basic priority of development. But far from being mutually exclusive, human security and human development are just opposite sides of the same coin. It is hard to improve one's GDP [gross domestic product] when so much of one's resources go to repair the damage of war and to mend broken lives.

Others who defend the strictest interpretation of sovereignty undoubtedly have more dubious motives. Sovereignty is clearly less and less of a shield behind which massive abuse can occur. This certainly must be disturbing to those given to violating the security and safety of their own citizens. And how curious that the most ardent defenders of state authority are the very ones who have few qualms about ceding it elsewhere to global economic institutions when their economic interests are at stake.

The paradigm of international politics is clearly shifting to take more direct account of the rights of people. So, too, is the practice. Indeed, as is often the case, practice is leading theory. The protection of people was the inspiration behind the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, a movement strongly supported by Canadians — and one that is producing global results.

Protecting people likewise provides the impetus behind Canada's active efforts to create the International Criminal Court; to curtail the proliferation and abuse of small arms and light military weapons; and to help war-affected children. For example, Canada led in developing consensus on the text of the recently announced protocol on the recruitment and deployment of child soldiers.

These are not discrete, unconnected events, but part of a wider effort to shape a world in which the security of people is defended.

Protecting people also requires updating our international institutions. Canada is doing so by integrating the human dimension into the work of the G-8, the OAS [Organization of American States], the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe], the Commonwealth, la Francophonie and the UN.

The UN Security Council has not always responded resolutely to the challenges posed by new human security threats. Canada, with other Council members, is trying to change that during our current term on the Council — and with some success.

Through Canadian efforts, among others, the protection of civilians in conflict is now firmly on the Council agenda. At Canada's initiative, the Secretary-General has prepared a report on the subject containing recommendations for action.

We will continue to promote human security at the Council. To that end, we plan to promote a more targeted approach to sanctions, work to reassert the Council's lead in peacekeeping, and continue to forge increased and more open links between the Council and others. Last but not least, we will continue to progress on the issue of humanitarian intervention.

Let me be very clear on this point. I am not talking about minor violations of human rights. There are other ways to censure such misgovernance. What I am talking about is international intervention to prevent or stop massive human suffering. Humanitarian intervention is called for only in severe cases — genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and massive and systematic violations of human rights and humanitarian law.

In these cases, the international community's record is not good. Consider the legacy of Pol Pot and Idi Amin. Consider the findings of the independent inquiries on Rwanda and Srebrenica. These reports are a catalogue of failure and inaction by the world in the face of enormous human suffering.

Certainly, preventive and non-coercive action is best — mediation, confidence-building, promoting good governance, democratic institution building, preventive deployment or sanctions. They should always be tried. Indeed, we should put a premium on improving capacity, increasing resources and acting sooner in these areas in order to avoid the necessity of stronger measures.

It remains true, though, that these actions are not always feasible and they don't always work. When they don't work, humanitarian intervention becomes an option. It is one of the most difficult decisions that leaders can make. It is fraught with complications. It challenges established thinking about the international order.

However, what validity is there to a rule of international law that cannot be enforced.



A full discussion about humanitarian intervention is, therefore, unavoidable and indispensable, because we will undoubtedly be confronted with new humanitarian tragedies in the future; and because in the absence of clarity, we will certainly be faced with the same questions, the same paralysis and the same lack of preparedness — with the same tragic results.

The lack of action in Rwanda and Srebrenica raised the question. NATO's action in Kosovo sparked the debate. Last September, in a statement to the General Assembly, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan took up the challenge, laid out the arguments and made clear the stakes. It is now a discussion that the UN Security Council — indeed, the international community — must engage in.

In doing so, three issues need to be addressed: strengthening the norms and practices regarding the protection of civilians; mobilizing the political will to act when necessary; and developing the military and civilian capacity to succeed.

The basis for humanitarian intervention can rest on the UN Charter, developments in international humanitarian and human rights law, and perhaps most significantly, on Security Council practice.

The opening articles of the UN Charter refer not only to the maintenance of international peace and security but also to the reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person. This is a powerful symbol of the international community's obligation to protect people, and serves as the foundation for international action to that end.

International humanitarian and human rights law, specifically the Geneva Conventions and the Genocide Convention, support the Charter concerning international responses to crimes against humanity and war crimes. Article 1 of the Genocide Convention, for example, confirms that genocide is a crime under international law, which contracting parties undertake to prevent and to punish.

The creation of International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the adoption of a statute for the International Criminal Court further reinforce growing international consensus that those responsible for massive and systematic violations of human rights within state borders are neither immune from international law, nor can they escape international sanction.

Finally, the UN Security Council has authorized armed intervention for humanitarian purposes in a number of cases — Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia and East Timor. To be sure, the circumstances in each are different. There are nuances to the mandates. There are certainly questions about the results. But there is little doubt that, taken



together, these Council decisions recognize that genocide and other crimes against humanity cannot stand unchallenged.

Still, what are governments to do when the Council is divided and terrible crimes are being perpetrated behind the veil of sovereignty of an abusive state? The first issue that arises is whether the nature of the offence warrants outside intervention. In our view, that can only be the case when egregious acts of violence are being deliberately committed against the innocent. We have a very high test in mind. Once the judgment has been made that the violence — actual or threatened — meets this test, there are several considerations to weigh:

- Urgency. Has time run out on other peaceful dispute resolution instruments? Humanitarian intervention should be undertaken only when it is clear that all reasonable non-coercive efforts to prevent or resolve a conflict have been tried and have failed. The threat or occurrence of massive human suffering and loss of life is the key factor in determining the necessity of intervention.
- Prevention. Is there a danger that an intrastate conflict, if left alone, will proliferate and threaten regional or international security? Not intervening can have a destabilizing effect on regional security. Inaction in Rwanda, for example, has contributed to the spread of atrocities and civil conflict throughout central Africa.
- Consistency. All civilians are inherently equally worthy of protection. In practice, however, this raises questions of international will and capacity to act in each case. Should we intervene, for example, if we believe that we cannot improve the situation on the ground, or if it is clear that such a decision would merely lead to the spread of conflict? Consistency is obviously the goal. But for those who criticize humanitarian intervention on the grounds that it is inconsistently employed, I would ask: if the international community cannot intervene everywhere, does that mean we must not intervene anywhere?

Strengthening norms also requires mobilizing the will to act.

The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the focus around which action in these matters should be grounded, and the first place that the world's people look to for leadership when their security and safety are at risk. Canadians do — explaining our strong commitment to an effective Council.

That is why the Council must now resolutely rise to the challenge of humanitarian intervention. Yet, even while authorizing interventions on humanitarian grounds, some

Council members have been unwilling to consistently apply a broader definition of the Charter's peace and security mandate in response to today's conflicts.

Secretary-General Annan highlighted the resulting dilemma in this comment about Rwanda: "Imagine for one moment that, in those dark days and hours leading up to the genocide, there had been a coalition of states ready and willing to act in defence of the Tutsi population, but the Council had refused or delayed giving the green light. Should such a coalition then have stood idly by while the horror unfolded?"

In the face of deliberate, systematic, large-scale perpetration of atrocities against innocent people and if the Council is paralysed — do we still have an obligation to act? Surely, the answer is yes.

Parallels with the anti-personnel mines campaign come to mind. The human suffering inflicted by these weapons was enormous. The need, the demand and the imperative to respond were clear. Yet, the institution charged with action was incapable of doing so. An alternative route was taken — one that had tremendous support, one that produced results, one that was brought back into the UN, and one that, ultimately, strengthened the international system.

The cumulative weight of international human rights and humanitarian law, the global trend against impunity and for accountability that led to the creation of the International Criminal Court, the precedents set by the Council itself — all justify action in the face of severe humanitarian crisis and Council inability to acquit its responsibilities. Certainly, intervention in these circumstances must be exceptional and linked as closely as possible to the Security Council — before, during and after the conflict. But it must be an option.

This raises concerns in some quarters. Key to addressing these concerns and to mobilizing the will to act is a clearer framework within which intervention can occur — a framework that creates a permissive enough environment to stop massive and systematic violations of human rights, balanced with safeguards to ensure that it is not misused by states pursuing self-interested objectives. To that end, five important considerations come to mind:

- **Corroboration.** Is the severity of the crisis corroborated by a credible third party? Independent confirmation that a humanitarian crisis is imminent should be a prerequisite so that the international community is not drawn in to serve the political goals of one or more countries.
- **Practicability.** Can the humanitarian intervention generate a positive outcome for victims? Intervention should be undertaken when it is clear that with adequate

resources, a clear mandate and broad support, it could bring an end to acute and widespread suffering.

- **Scale.** Is the level of force appropriate to the circumstances? We should target the perpetrators of violence and the infrastructure on which they depend, while ensuring due regard for civilians and the environment.
- **Support.** Is the intervention multilateral in nature and widely supported? Unilateral interventions, for example, raise questions of abuse and/or self-interest by the intervener.
- **Sustainability.** Is the intervention part of a longer-term strategy to build and sustain peace? Humanitarian intervention should not necessarily be seen as a stand-alone activity or a Band-Aid solution.

Mobilizing political will is closely linked to the availability of adequate military and civilian capacity. At a time when requests for troops to help protect civilians in times of conflict are growing, governments must plan ahead and marshal the necessary resources to carry out new missions.

The capacity of the UN itself to manage complex missions is under great strain. A co-ordinated and integrated approach is required nationally and internationally to ensure that we are prepared. Rapidly identifying and mobilizing the necessary military and civilian resources is fundamental to the success of a decision to intervene for humanitarian purposes.

As Kosovo showed, it was not speeches condemning Serbian President Milosevic that stopped his actions — it was our willingness to undertake forceful action with strong international support. Yet at present, humanitarian actions such as these are carried out in an ad-hoc manner — by NATO, ECOMOG [Military Observer Group of the Economic Community of West African States] or coalitions of the willing, such as INTERFET, the multinational force deployed in East Timor.

Whatever the reasons, this trend toward a voluntary approach to enforcement action must be reversed. It places undue burdens on those capable of paying. More importantly, it erodes the principle of universal participation in collective security enshrined in the Charter.

We must also bear in mind that humanitarian intervention is aimed at providing immediate physical protection for people — a fundamental step, but usually only the first in building long-term stability and security. Building the capacity to succeed means not only providing collective resources for humanitarian intervention, but providing collective



— and adequate — resources, attention and priority for peacebuilding activities that follow.

The massive and systematic abuse of human rights is, tragically, an enduring feature of this new world. It is no accident, then, that the subject of the international community's response, including humanitarian intervention, should take on a renewed profile.

Discussion about humanitarian intervention is fraught with controversy. If there was some assurance that people would no longer be subject to the most extreme violations of humanitarian and human rights law, some guarantee the deliberate infliction of human suffering on a massive scale could be eliminated, and some prospect that past atrocities would not be repeated in the future — perhaps we could do without it. However, that is unlikely.

It would undoubtedly be far easier to duck the issue. It would silence the critics. It would assuage lawyers. It would satisfy finance ministries. However, there are those who most patently would not be better off, and who are ultimately the most concerned — the people subject to massive and systematic abuse. That is why humanitarian intervention is something we must address — the sooner the better.

Humanitarian intervention is at the extreme end of the human security spectrum — a subject that requires our attention. It is indicative of how, in the new global context, the protection of people has taken on increased importance — in conflict situations and beyond.

This is the impetus for Canada's human security agenda — our way of making the protection of people a top international priority. It is the right approach for Canada and for Canadians because it reflects our history, our needs, our interests, and our capacities.

As I stated at the outset, the human security agenda is not just a government policy. It is a policy that has involved and can and should involve Canadians from all walks of life. Indeed, to work, it takes focus, energy, attention, and the contribution of people such as yourselves.

At the start of a new century, the protection of people — Canadians and others — is among the most important issues before us. I have outlined some of the challenges we face. I hope I have motivated some of you to turn your attention to resolving them.

Thank you.





# Statement

[www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/9

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE NGO PEACEBUILDING CONSULTATIONS

OTTAWA, Ontario  
February 29, 2000  
(4:30 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I am delighted to be able to participate in the opening session of the Fourth Annual Peacebuilding Consultations.

These consultations are organized jointly by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Canadian Peacebuilding Co-ordinating Committee, with the strong participation of CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency] representatives. They have become an integral feature of the Canadian public policy process in the area of peacebuilding. They are a recognition of the crucial role NGOs play on the ground and a concrete demonstration of the kind of government-NGO partnership that we sought to achieve when the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative was launched four years ago.

I am also delighted to welcome my colleague, International Co-operation Minister Maria Minna, who is making her first appearance at these consultations. She and I have worked very closely together on many of the issues that you will be discussing in more detail over the next two days, such as reconstruction assistance to Sierra Leone and East Timor, and the important issue of war-affected children.

The organizers of this plenary have asked Minister Minna and myself to look backwards and forwards a bit, to assess the important changes in the struggle for peace that the new century will bring. In my view, the most important change in this century relates to the place of people in global affairs.

People, not just states, are increasingly the subject of world concern. World peace and stability depend on ensuring the security and rights of people, not just the absence of conflict between states.

The safety of people is more directly at risk as a result of shifts in the nature of threats to peace and security, from the changed dynamic of armed conflict to the new risks emerging from global crime and terrorism.

As a result of globalization, people's lives and futures are more connected, and there is certainly more awareness of each other's concerns.

As a result of changes to the dynamics of world governance, there is more scope for civil society to play a constructive role in the management of global problems.

There is consequently an increased willingness to speak up — a disposition to take action on behalf of people regardless of who they are and where they are.

The human security agenda is a Canadian response to this new global environment. It is a way of putting people — their rights, their safety, their lives — first.



We have made progress in advancing this approach, and in making a difference. Canada has put the protection of people firmly on the agenda at the UN Security Council, in regional forums to which we belong, and in our relations with others.

Canadians are behind the campaign to ban APMs [anti-personnel mines], and the creation of the International Criminal Court [ICC], as well as the movements for global action on war-affected children, and against the abuse of small arms and light weapons.

In short, there is momentum behind an approach that puts the security of people at the forefront of international relations, from conflict prevention to humanitarian intervention and post-conflict remediation. And Canadians are contributing strongly to the momentum.

To work, the human security agenda depends on partnerships: new synergies and coalitions between governments, civil society and the private sector. Nowhere is the need for this co-operation clearer than in dealing with armed violence and its impact on people, especially in the transition from conflict to stability.

There has been a transformation in the relationship between people and war and the relationship between people and peace. Building peace is no longer the exclusive purview of professional diplomats. Peace must be built by people and their communities. Peace must be built from the bottom up as much as from the top down.

That is the impetus for peacebuilding. That is the premise behind Canada's Peacebuilding Initiative: to establish sustainable peace, we need to give help so that those affected by war can deal with the traumas and sources of conflict, replace confrontation with co-operation, and build inclusive and democratic societies.

In this way, the peacebuilding process is fundamental to advancing human security. And Canadian peacebuilding activities are helping advance Canada's principal human security objectives.

The protection of civilians in armed conflict is a key priority. We have made this a central theme of our tenure on the UN Security Council. Through Canadian efforts — in particular, the Secretary-General's report on the subject and its follow-up — the issue is on the Council's agenda. Through Canada's initiatives to bring the head of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] and the UNHCHR [UN High Commissioner for Human Rights] to the Council, the voice of human suffering is being heard, and listened to at the Council table. As a result of Canada's presence, the Council is now taking concrete action to defend people. It approved new missions in Sierra Leone and East Timor with mandates that, at Canada's insistence, explicitly include the protection of civilians for the first time.

Making the Council more responsive to the security needs of civilians needs to be complemented by efforts to improve UN capacity for carrying out related tasks. That is the reason for a number of specific peacebuilding projects, including the development of gender training material to strengthen peace operations, UN civilian police training in Africa, and the development of civilian police guidelines for UN personnel.

The plight of children affected by armed conflict is a particular concern. Last month agreement was reached on the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, relating to the recruitment and deployment of persons under 18 into armed forces. This was a positive step forward. It was due in part to the advocacy efforts of groups such as the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, assisted by Canadian peacebuilding resources.

This has paved the way for much-needed attention and work on the broader issue of war-affected children. Indeed, it is a priority in our human security agenda. To this end, my Ghanaian counterpart and I will co-host a conference in April on war-affected children in West Africa. The aim is to catalyse regional efforts to protect the rights and welfare of children in a region that is acutely affected. In September this year, Minister Minna and I will host an international conference on the subject in Winnipeg, to mobilize international attention and produce a Common Statement and Plan of Action for the protection of war-affected children.

Co-operation between governments, NGOs and international organizations is essential to progress. To further co-operation, the Canadian delegation to the International Red Cross Conference last November sponsored a Canadian pledge on war-affected children, ultimately signed by more than 60 governments and national Red Cross societies. Canada also provides Olara Otunnu, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, with considerable assistance to support his international advocacy work. And the theme of this year's National Forum for youth — an opportunity for Canadian young people to express their views — will be on the subject of war-affected children.

Of course, the threats to the safety of our youth go beyond war, and so should the solutions. It is in this context that, for example, Canada will support an Internet-based pilot project in the Americas which, focussing on youth, is aimed at improving communication between government agencies, NGOs and others involved in the prevention of substance abuse and the treatment and rehabilitation of substance abusers.

The proliferation and abuse of small arms and light weapons are major threats to human security. Peacebuilding activities are important in confronting this challenge. Last fall, Canada and Norway brought together practitioners and policy makers to develop practical guidelines based on best practices in micro-disarmament initiatives.



Canada has also supported the creation of a small arms survey to act as a source of independent information on small arms and light weapons issues, and as a monitor of international and national government and NGO policy initiatives. And in the field, a considerable portion of Canada's assistance to Sierra Leone, for example, has been earmarked for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts, with a special focus on the needs of children.

As we begin preparations for the UN conference next year, your input into the process will be important. For that reason, I am pleased that the Peacebuilding and Human Security Program is supporting connectivity efforts among relevant NGOs to promote effective preparation and co-ordination.

The development and implementation of international humanitarian and human rights law is another important factor in advancing human security. We can see a growing trend away from impunity and toward accountability, including in cases of the most egregious abuse.

Supporting that trend, the creation of the International Criminal Court is a landmark human security achievement. Again, an essential factor was partnership between government and civil society, such as the NGO Coalition for the ICC.

Partnership remains essential. We now need to turn our attention to ensuring the ICC is established as soon as possible. That is why the Peacebuilding and Human Security Program has contributed to a joint project of the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy and the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. The project will develop a practical manual to assist countries in their efforts to ratify and implement the ICC statute.

Finally, one of the most disturbing trends in terms in contemporary conflict is the capacity of belligerent groups — both states and non-state actors — to finance and sustain hostilities, using the access to resources provided by global markets. There is a new economy of war at work, evident in such countries as Angola, Sudan and Burma.

Where external patrons provided the funding and the weapons in the past, belligerents can now finance their own conflicts, and flout the opinion of the international community and the obligations of human rights norms in the process.

In one specific case, that of the UN sanctions against UNITA in Angola, Canada has been leading international efforts to come to terms with the new economy of war. The Angola Sanctions Panel, chaired by Ambassador Fowler, will present its report to the Security Council in several weeks. Canada looks forward to convening a debate in the Council under our next Presidency in April on the issue of making sanctions more

effective in terms of putting pressure on the intended targets' capacity to finance their own conflicts.

We have also funded public research on the issue of "economic agendas in civil wars." We supported a conference in London last April, the results of which were presented earlier this month; and we gave assistance for the impressive study on diamonds and human security in Sierra Leone, *The Heart of the Matter*, released last month by Partnership Africa-Canada.

The role of private-sector corporations in conflict zones raises difficult and complex issues for governments such as ours that are committed to the promotion of human rights and human security, and for the companies themselves.

The situation in Sudan, for example, is of great concern to me, as it is to many of you. That is why I appointed Senator Lois Wilson as Canada's Envoy to the Sudan Peace Process, and asked John Harker to go to Sudan.

I now expect Talisman Energy to make a sustained effort to develop, in close connection with Canadian and Sudanese NGOs, the means by which their presence can be monitored to ensure that they do not contribute to the ongoing conflict. And I expect them to fully respect the terms of the International Code of Ethics for Canadian Business signed by them in December.

Canada will use its Presidency of the UN Security Council to address the humanitarian impact of the conflict; we have offered to support the Special Rapporteur on Sudan; we will provide assistance to combat the abductions of women and children; we will open a diplomatic mission in Sudan to make a more effective contribution to the peace process; and Senator Wilson will continue her efforts.

These measures may not satisfy everyone. However, they are based on engagement and dialogue, which in my view is the best way for Canada to advance the rights of the Sudanese people and the most effective way to pursue lasting peace.

At the same time, corporations can play a constructive role in human rights and democratic development. Initiatives aimed at raising the standard of corporate behaviour overseas have the best chance of success when the corporate sector itself is engaged in developing those standards.

That is why the Canadian government is investing considerable effort in promoting a dialogue with Canadian firms about how they can advance, and abide by, voluntary codes of conduct that will make their corporate commitments and values clear to all actors with whom they do business. We look forward to the opportunity of discussing



with the Canadian private sector, labour groups and NGOs how these codes can be developed, adapted and applied.

Peacebuilding has clearly been fundamental to the promotion of human security, and Canada's peacebuilding activities have certainly supported our human security objectives. Looking ahead, we can see that the role and views of young people — the next generation — will be important. I understand you have made a place for their voice at these consultations — something I strongly encourage.

Indeed, through CANADEM [Canadian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights] and the Youth International Internship Program, young Canadians have already been playing a vital role in Canada's peacebuilding activities and will continue to do so.

Canadian NGOs have taken a leading part in moving forward the human security agenda. I depend on you to work with me constructively in order to achieve common objectives. I look forward to hearing the outcome of your consultations and how, together, we can strengthen our peacebuilding efforts.

Thank you.

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/10

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
FOR

"THE ARTHUR KROEGER COLLEGE INAUGURAL LECTURE ON  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND CIVIC SOCIETY"

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 22, 2000  
(3:30 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I have just finished journalist Philip Gourevitch's haunting stories about the Rwandan genocide, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With our Families*.

His chilling account of the rampages by the genocidaires captures one reality of our world: a place where intolerance, suspicion, brutality, fear, destruction, violence — the darker side of human nature — prevail. It is a reality that, simply put, endangers the basic safety of people.

In our world, the threats are wide-ranging: from the victimization, one by one, of people in civil conflicts to the spectre of mass annihilation from nuclear weapons. These threats, at their most basic, all imperil human security.

Some think the answer is to build walls, turn away, ignore, retreat — shut the world out.

This is not possible. The forces of globalization, advances in technology, transportation, and communication, rule isolation out.

Isolation is not desirable. The same forces that make the problems of others our problems, highlight our common humanity and connect us in a common destiny.

Isolation is not the Canadian way. Canadians have always been engaged with the world. We have built a multicultural country based on inclusion, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for others — a society that embraces difference.

We have sought to project these values on the global stage and to translate them into action to promote global peace and stability — an approach that explains our high standing in the international community.

Now, in a changed world where the role of people — their rights, safety and lives — is assuming a greater role in the policy and practice of global affairs, our foreign policy must reflect this growing concern.

This is the impetus behind Canada's human security agenda — putting people first in our foreign policy. It is an effort to construct a global society where the safety of people is a priority and a force for action; where humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web to protect people; where those who violate these standards are held accountable; and where our global, regional and bilateral institutions are built to enhance and enforce these standards. In short, it is a way to deal with the darker side of global life.

The campaign to ban landmines, the creation of the International Criminal Court, initiatives to fight the illicit drug trade, and efforts to protect civilians in conflict, from Kosovo to Sierra Leone to East Timor, are a few different but related examples not only of how Canada is pursuing this agenda but indeed of the growing willingness in the wider international community to promote it.



T.S. Eliot called April the cruelest month. For Canada, April is a crucial month. Next month, a confluence of events — Canada's presidency of the UN Security Council, the West African Conference on War-Affected Children that Canada is co-sponsoring with Ghana, and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference — will all focus attention — and hopefully action — on pressing human security concerns.

When we joined the Security Council last year, our aim was to adapt it to a changed context where the prospects for global peace — its primary responsibility — turn increasingly on issues of human safety.

As a result, in part, of Canada's presence, the Council is listening more directly to the voices of human suffering. It addresses issues that pose a direct threat to people. It is taking concrete and unprecedented action to protect civilians in armed conflict. In other words, the Council is becoming more relevant to the security concerns of people.

In April, we intend to consolidate this progress.

Whether as direct targets, tools, or trophies of war, the victimization of civilians is a central part of armed conflict today. The protection of civilians must, therefore, figure at the top of the Council's agenda. To this end, Secretary-General Annan's report last fall and his proposals on the subject — a Canadian initiative — provide a blueprint for action.

The impact on the Council's decisions is already tangible. At Canada's insistence, Council mandates for new peace operations approved last year in Sierra Leone and East Timor, explicitly included the protection of civilians, and were given the resources to do so — a Council first.

We hope to entrench this practice so that, from now on, the interests of civilians will be a standard concern in the initiation and deployment of Council peace missions.

The situation of one group of civilians — internally displaced people — has not been addressed by the Council as a cross-cutting security theme. Yet, a staggering 25 million people have been forced, as a result of conflicts — often already under Council consideration — to flee their homes and take refuge elsewhere in their own countries.

We plan to convene a Council session in April as a first step to promoting a more comprehensive, thematic approach to the problem by the Security Council.

The emergence of the new war economies that fuel armed conflicts and aggravate human suffering is another disturbing trend. Modern day warlords — with the complicity of unscrupulous commercial interests — exploit both resources and people to fund violence.

It is time the Council addressed this threat seriously and resolutely. This is behind Canada's efforts to make the Angola sanctions regime more effective in ending the ability of the rebel movement UNITA to wage war. The experts' report circulated last week identified the challenges.

Next month, we will press for a concerted response to its recommendations. We will also table a major study by the International Peace Academy, sponsored by Canada, on sanctions regimes. This will feature in a general re-examination of sanctions regimes we are planning to hold at the Council. It will consider how to target them more effectively, how to reduce their impact on ordinary people, and how to find practical ways the Council can accomplish this.

The report of the independent inquiry on the Rwandan genocide released in December raised serious issues about the Security Council's action — and inaction — when faced with egregious violations of human rights and humanitarian law, and the dilemma of whether and how to intervene, issues it also faced in Srebrenica, and again in Kosovo.

The Council needs to discuss its role in these situations. We plan to organize a debate on the Rwandan report for this purpose. It will not be an easy exercise, but we think it is one that must be done if members of the international community are to accept their responsibilities.

These efforts to promote human security would be incomplete without attention to enduring conflicts that, everyday, continue to claim lives. That is why we will work for closer Council involvement in often neglected conflict zones — including the humanitarian suffering in Sudan and the treatment of women in Afghanistan.

From the outset, one of the ways we wanted to make the Council more relevant was to ensure that it is better linked to human security initiatives elsewhere, and that its activities complement efforts to promote human security in other forums.

This is the case concerning war-affected children — a Canadian priority. The devastating toll exacted on children this past decade alone makes the tragedy clear: millions killed, disabled, orphaned, displaced, traumatized or forced into military servitude.

Security Council action in this area — for example, the deployment of child protection advisers as a regular part of peacekeeping operations — strengthens the momentum for international action.

In January, the Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child was finally concluded. It addresses the involvement of children in armed conflict, in particular the heinous practice of child soldiers. Yesterday, the Canadian government tabled

legislation — raising to 18 the minimum age for the deployment of Canadian soldiers into hostilities — thereby putting Canada at the leading edge in this area.

The conference Canada will co-host in April on war-affected children in West Africa aims to catalyze regional efforts to protect the rights and welfare of children in an area that is among the most acutely affected.

And in September, Canada will chair an international conference on war-affected children, bringing together governments, international organizations and civil society to formulate a comprehensive global plan of action.

Promoting human security at the Security Council or elsewhere means addressing threats to human safety. But we can derive little satisfaction from the progress we have made — and there has been progress — while the risk of nuclear annihilation looms over our collective safety. There is, quite frankly, no greater potential menace to human security.

Yet the risks associated with nuclear arms appear to have faded from the radar of international concern, the urgency for action has ebbed, and the structure we have built to manage the threats is on increasingly shaky ground. We seem to have lost our way — or our will — to act resolutely and together to move forward with nuclear arms control and disarmament.

The dangers are real enough.

The threat of horizontal proliferation is evident. Nuclear testing in South Asia has added a frightening new dimension to political instability in that region.

Vertical proliferation remains a challenge. There has been undeniable progress in nuclear disarmament, but the trend by some to justify retaining nuclear arsenals as a defence against other weapons or on economic grounds is a real worry.

The prospect of illicit transfers of nuclear weapons grade material is emerging as a new threat.

Finally, discussions in the United States about National Missile Defence could complicate efforts to advance the global nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament agenda.

We cannot allow the global nuclear non-proliferation regime to wither passively in the face of any of these challenges. Now is the time to refocus energy and imagination in strengthening it. This, not the chimeric appeal of unilateralist actions — whatever their origins — offers the best guarantee for our collective security.



Canada remains firmly committed to that goal.

An effective NPT is the centrepiece of the non-proliferation regime. With only four states who have not signed, it is the most widely adhered-to international security accord in history. In a month's time the international community will gather for the NPT Review Conference — the first since its indefinite extension in 1995.

The success of this conference is crucial. The future course of nuclear weapons' attitudes, policies and arsenals is at stake. Yet the outlook is clouded.

There is a sense that the fundamental deal at the heart of the Treaty — a promise by those without nuclear weapons not to acquire them, in exchange for an undertaking by the nuclear weapon states to eventually get rid of them — is not being respected by some on either side.

There is, likewise, a feeling that the commitment by the nuclear weapon states to the concept of "permanence with accountability" — extending the NPT indefinitely in exchange for greater accountability to others — is not being met.

Canada's approach is threefold: securing agreement to an updated five-year action program with new, concrete objectives for disarmament and non-proliferation; seeking a more robust review and assessment process to give full meaning to the principle of "permanence with accountability;" and promoting universal adherence to the NPT with renewed commitment by Treaty member states to live up to their obligations.

A strengthened NPT is indispensable. So is reinforcing other parts of the non-proliferation regime. This includes renewed vigour in ratifying and implementing the CTBT [Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty] — despite the U.S. Senate's rejection. It means the start of serious negotiations on an agreement banning the production of fissile material [FMCT]. It involves a stronger, more effective IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] to restrict the flow of materials and know-how needed for the development of nuclear weapons.

Canada is pressing for action in all areas.

It also means more resolute attention and action to restricting access to the means by which nuclear and other weapons can be delivered — notably missiles.

More countries now possess missiles capable of delivering nuclear, chemical and biological warheads. More countries now possess the capability to import such missiles from abroad, to develop them domestically and to export them to others. More countries are now prepared to test and deploy them.



Yet there exists no treaty, no code of conduct, no set of guidelines for what constitutes responsible behaviour in these areas.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising there should be concern. Canada fully shares these worries. However, unilateral efforts to build defences against these dangers are unlikely to provide lasting security — and might quite possibly increase insecurity.

The impulse to build walls, to retreat, to shut the world out, here as elsewhere, should be resisted. The answer lies instead in creating a multilateral approach to stop missile proliferation in the first place, and to make this a key part of a strengthened global non-proliferation regime.

That is behind international efforts to develop an effective Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). That is why Canada is working hard to reinvigorate these discussions — including an offer to lead the MTCR next year.

To that end, we are committed to advancing a stricter approach to export controls on relevant technology, to widening the participation in this Regime, to broadening the approach to include effective confidence-building measures, and to working out universal norms that would distinguish between responsible and irresponsible behaviour involving missiles.

A stronger non-proliferation regime depends on effective global arrangements. It also depends on the willingness of individual countries and groups of countries to assess the validity of their own, specific approaches. That is why Canada is leading efforts at NATO, now underway, to fully review its non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament options.

After already reducing its nuclear arsenal by over 80 percent, Alliance leaders' agreement to this review gives NATO the opportunity to offer leadership to international arms control and disarmament goals.

Canada is working to ensure that NATO takes a comprehensive look at all of its policies. NATO allies know the importance non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament efforts make to their security and the opportunity this review process presents to explore further measures the Alliance can take. The results will be presented to NATO foreign ministers in December. In the meantime, the review process sends an important, positive signal to the NPT conference next month.

There is another crucial factor in all of these efforts — the role of individual citizens and civil society. The political will and energy required to restore vital momentum to nuclear arms control and threat reduction is not generated in the stale basements of the UN in New York or the closed Council Chamber of the Palais des Nations in Geneva.

In democracies like ours, political energy and will are made in the hearts and minds of our citizens and then in the platforms offered, the mandates given and the policies pursued – at home and abroad – by our leaders. Indeed, the name of this College, the Arthur Kroeger Institute of Public Affairs and Civic Society, effectively captures this connection.

This explains why two years ago, I asked the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs to examine the nuclear challenges and provide recommendations; why Canada's Ambassador for Disarmament has just completed a tour of eight Canadian cities to speak on the subject; why last month we held consultations with civil society to discuss issues related to nuclear non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament; and finally why, today, I am pleased to announce that Canada's delegation to the NPT Review Conference will include a representative of the NGO community as a full participant.

Great things can happen when NGOs and governments join forces — as the recent achievement of the Ottawa Convention to ban anti-personnel mines and the effort to create the International Criminal Court show. While nuclear disarmament will not be achieved as expeditiously, it will never be achieved if we — government and civil society alike — do not redouble our efforts.

I began my remarks with a reference to a journalist's account of the Rwandan genocide — the truth it related about the horrors of that time and the larger reality it reflected about the darker side of human nature, about threats to human security, and about inaction.

The collection also recounts another episode, at a convent school, where the genocidaires attempted to separate a group of Tutsi students from their Hutu classmates. The Hutu girls refused. They decided to stay with their classmates. Rather than save themselves, they chose to defend their friends.

This is another reality of our world — one of solidarity, of involvement, of common humanity, of the better side of human nature and, ultimately, of a more hopeful future.

This is the reality towards which the human-centred approach to Canada's foreign policy is directed. This is the connection between our actions — from the protection of civilians to the prevention of nuclear destruction. At the end of April — after our Security Council Presidency, after the West African Conference on War-Affected Children, after the NPT Review Conference — this is the goal to which I hope we will find ourselves a little closer.

Thank you.



# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

---

2000/11

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO

THE CANADA-ISRAEL COMMITTEE POLICY CONFERENCE

OTTAWA, Ontario  
March 29, 2000  
(2:40 p.m. EST)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I would like to thank the chairs of today's event — Stephen Victor, Donald Carr and Stephen Lipper — for inviting me to make this address. I am very honoured to speak to you at the 16th Policy Conference of the Canada-Israel Committee [CIC].

This conference comes at an important time: a time of evolution in world affairs; a time of brighter prospects for achieving lasting, comprehensive peace in the Middle East; a time of stronger opportunities for Canadian-Israeli partnership in promoting both security and peace.

In international relations, we have seen a dramatic shift: the security and rights of people have become crucial to world stability and peace. The most dispiriting reality is just how vulnerable they remain.

I read recently how Isaiah Berlin "deeply believed that the concentration camps offered the most conclusive justification ever for the necessity of a universal moral law" and how the abominations of the Second World War reinforced his view that the primary duty of any politics whatever was "to avoid extremes of suffering."

The darker forces of human nature and of global life today — the violence, the brutality, the destruction — make clear that, despite the passage of time, the need to develop universal norms to defend and protect people and the need for global action to avoid the "extremes of human suffering" remain undiminished.

In response to this reality, and in the spirit of Berlin's observations, Canada has been pursuing an approach that promotes human security. It is a way of putting the safety of people first — by developing standards, formulating law, entrenching practice, consolidating coalitions and building institutions — that makes human security a central priority.

The campaign to ban landmines is perhaps the best-known example of human security in action. Originating with ordinary people, this effort galvanized support of other people around the world to eliminate a weapon designed to maim and kill the innocent. The result was the 1997 Ottawa Convention banning anti-personnel mines.

And the fact is, the Convention is making a real difference to the safety of people: millions of mines have been destroyed, production and export have declined and, most important, victim rates have dropped.

There are other examples. In armed conflict, some suffer more than others. The situation of war-affected children — young people killed, disabled, orphaned, displaced, traumatized or forced into military servitude — is not only tragic but nothing short of a global shame.

However, here too there is growing momentum for international action. In January, a Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child was concluded, addressing the

involvement of children in armed conflict. In April, Canada and Ghana will host a conference on war-affected children in West Africa to catalyse regional efforts there.

And in September, Canada will chair an international conference on war-affected children. In the spirit of the landmines campaign, this is an effort to bring together like-minded governments, international organizations and civil society to formulate a comprehensive, global plan of action.

When Canada started a two-year term on the Security Council last year, our aim was to make it more responsive to human security concerns, especially the appalling human cost of modern armed conflict.

Partly as a result of Canada's presence, the Council is listening more directly to the voices of human suffering. From Sierra Leone to East Timor, it is taking concrete and unprecedented action to protect civilians in armed conflict. In other words, the Council is becoming more relevant to the security concerns of people.

In April, when Canada holds the presidency of the Council, we intend to consolidate this progress. We plan to use the opportunity to reinforce Council action protecting civilians in conflict. We also want the Council to re-examine the use of sanctions regimes and address the impact of the new war economies.

Many of you have a personal connection to the horror and pain of the Shoa [Holocaust of WWII]. We vowed that these atrocities would never be repeated. But more than a half century later, the record is abysmal: Pol Pot, Idi Amin, Rwandan genocidaires, savage brutality in the Balkans. The ineffectiveness of the Security Council — the custodian of peace and security — has been especially glaring.

The time has come for a full examination of how and when the Council should intervene in situations of massive and systematic violations of humanitarian law and human rights. Canada will press for this in April. We owe it both to past victims and future generations to give real meaning to the pledge "never again."

It was the Nuremburg Trials, another, more positive legacy of WW II, that fifty years on has helped pave the way for the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Agreement to establish the Court is a milestone achievement in promoting human security. The Court will hold accountable those responsible for the most serious violations of humanitarian and human rights law.

Even though the ICC is not yet operational, other developments indicate that attitudes are changing about ending the culture of impunity. In this regard, General Pinochet's detention is but the most vivid example.

And here at home, in December I and my colleague, the Minister of Justice, tabled legislation that not only will allow Canada to ratify and implement the ICC Statute, but will also improve the effectiveness of our laws relating to the prosecution of war criminals in Canada. And in the process, this legislation is being used as a model for other countries.

Together, all of these developments demonstrate how Canada is pursuing human security.

Perhaps more importantly, they also reflect a shift in global thinking about the importance of human security in world affairs, and a growing willingness by the international community to take action. Clearly, the human security approach is not free of obstacles, or critics, or those who oppose it for a myriad of reasons, but it undeniably has momentum.

From the landmines campaign to reform of the Security Council, to issues relating to war-affected children and the creation of the ICC, in every case advancing human security means forging new coalitions around issues of common concern.

Just as important, it means giving new vitality and meaning to enduring partnerships, such as the one between Canada and Israel.

Since Canada's recognition of Israel, co-operation between our countries has gone from strength to strength. Prime Minister Chretien's visit next month will provide ample evidence that this is so.

On the commercial side, the surge in contacts underlines how our economic interests coincide in a global economy. The recent agreement expanding air links between our countries will further consolidate not only economic but social ties.

Similarly, we see increased convergence in matters of peace and stability. This applies to issues and institutions of global concern, such as the promotion of human rights, the fight against terrorism and the pursuit of renewal at the UN. It applies as well to efforts to build a lasting, comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Both globally and regionally, Canada and Israel share many interests.

They are interests on which we are finding new ways to co-operate — interests that, fundamentally, revolve around the security of people.

The basis for human security is the full respect for human rights. A crucial part of that is freedom of religion. It goes to the core of a person's belief and identity. A society's respect for religious expression is a measure of its commitment to tolerance and a yardstick of its capacity to accommodate difference. On the other hand, religious intolerance has been and is a source of conflict, violence and suffering.



Accordingly, protecting and advancing freedom of religion is an intrinsic part of our human security agenda.

That is why the arrest last year of 13 members of the Iranian Jewish community is a matter of considerable mutual concern. And that is why Canada has been active in efforts to ensure that their rights are protected.

Obtaining a just and rapid resolution of this situation is a priority on our bilateral agenda. I first raised this issue with the Iranian Foreign Minister in September. Today a letter from me to my Iranian counterpart has been delivered, officially requesting that the trial be open and in accordance with internationally recognized standards of due process. I have also requested that observers be permitted to attend the proceedings.

Canada and Israel will continue to co-operate in this matter and doubtless in other situations where human rights, including religious freedom, are at risk.

Surely one of the gravest threats to the rights, safety and security of people is terrorism.

Israelis know too well its direct and deadly consequences. Canadians have not been spared its often indiscriminate impact. One of my first tasks as Foreign Affairs Minister was to deal with the death of a young Canadian couple in Paris, killed by a terrorist bomb. More recent events here at home have brought the threat into even sharper focus.

A concerted, global approach is needed to develop tools for addressing the threats and also to harness the will to take action. Canada and Israel have worked together to these ends.

The international community has worked together to combat terrorism. Twelve international counter-terrorism conventions, as well as the 1994 UN Declaration on Measures to Eliminate Terrorism, have been signed.

Canada is working with our G-8 partners to urge universal ratification of these conventions and adherence to them. This would be a major step forward in efforts to combat international terrorism.

Canada has also taken the lead in the negotiation of the two most recent conventions relating to the suppression of terrorist bombings and financing.

Last month in New York, I was pleased to sign the Terrorist Financing Convention on behalf of Canada. The Convention will strengthen the power of the international community to block terrorists' sources of financial support. This will make Canada's already-vigorous counter-terrorism program even more effective.

Promoting human security involves adapting our shared institutions to changing global realities. This means taking new attitudes and updating approaches — as Canada is seeking to do at the Security Council. It also means fully including the voices and views of those left out in the past.

In that regard, Canada has been a strong supporter of Israel in international organizations. At the United Nations, we have worked to ensure that Israel can play its rightful role throughout the Organization. Canada has actively campaigned for Israel's inclusion in the WEOG [Western Europe and Others Grouping], and we will continue to do so.

At the same time, Canada and Israel are co-operating outside the UN. In Guatemala, we are working together with local authorities in the area of mine victim rehabilitation. This is an interesting and innovative way of pooling skills and resources to help others.

Our co-operation on global issues and at global forums is certainly matched by partnership in the Middle East region — particularly in efforts to establish lasting peace and advance human security.

In the current context of the Middle East peace process, the human security agenda has much relevance. Israeli leaders have made a clear decision to reach the agreements needed to bring durable peace to the region — agreements that will ensure the dignity of all the region's peoples while protecting the security of Israel.

I believe Prime Minister Barak and others are seeking not simply an end to conflict but a peace that ensures the security of individuals. We commend the brave steps being taken, including the decision by the Israeli cabinet to withdraw from Lebanon by July.

Without doubt, the responsibility for sustainable peace lies with those directly concerned. The focus must remain on direct negotiations.

However, an effective multilateral track can contribute by building trust and confidence among the parties. And sooner or later the international community will be called on to help in the implementation of peace agreements.

Canada is actively involved in these efforts. As Gavel of the Refugee Working Group [RWG], Canada has provided a forum — sometimes the only one — where Israeli and Arab officials meet to discuss issues that are central to achieving a lasting peace.

We have used our role at the RWG to help address the pressing humanitarian needs of Palestinian refugees, through concrete projects relating to family reunification, education and support for UNRWA [the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East].

At this critical juncture in the peace process, we will continue to play a positive role by contributing to an environment in which there can be progress towards a just and durable resolution of the Palestinian refugee question. Of course, the primary responsibility for reaching a solution must remain with the parties concerned.

Canadians strongly believe in dialogue as a means for people to learn about different cultures, beliefs and attitudes, and as a way to advance peace and understanding. Since 1993, the Canada Fund for Dialogue and Development has supported proposals in which Arab and Israeli organizations are involved in common actions with the purpose of building confidence.

The Fund has worked on projects in diverse areas: peace and development, good governance, democratic development, refugees, environment, water resources, regional economic development, and tourism. The people-to-people contacts at the core of these projects are vital in building trust and eliminating misconceptions.

The projects we have undertaken through the Fund complement and reinforce our efforts in the multilateral process. One organization with which Canada is very pleased to be associated through the Canada Fund for Dialogue and Development is the Peres Centre for Peace.

Shimon Peres, whom you will hear from later today, understands the rewards that will come with a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. I salute his continuing efforts as Minister for Regional Co-operation, and those of the Peres Centre for Peace.

We have been pursuing other innovative ways to promote human security in the region. For example, Canada, Israel, Jordan and Norway are co-operating in a mine clearance project in the Jordan Valley. The project aims to make the Jordan Valley a mine-free zone this year.

We believe that we can now go even further because the countries of the region themselves are taking courageous steps to consolidate peace. It is for that reason that we have been working with regional partners, including Israel, on the idea of moving the peace process from paper to people.

We are planning to establish a regional security centre in Amman, Jordan, where the countries — and, more importantly, the people — of the region can, together, define *their* regional human security priorities and establish enduring relationships, contacts and co-operation amongst the diverse communities who must work together to build true human security in this region.

Using the centre as a focal point, we hope to bring together a wide range of people — from all professions and walks of life to work on joint projects, to engage in skills



training and for dialogue and practical co-operation – to position them, their communities and their countries for peace.

The human security agenda is not just government policy. It is an approach that should involve Canadians from all walks of life — and it has done so. But involving them requires the focus, energy, attention and contribution of people such as yourselves.

We have seen what can be achieved when government and civil society work together. Effective co-operation depends on fresh ideas and innovative methods by both. That is why I am committed to reaching out and encouraging the participation of civil society in Canada's engagement with the world.

Co-operation also depends on a willingness of government, civil society and NGOs [non-governmental organizations] alike to re-assess priorities in the face of changing circumstances.

Since its inception, the Canada-Israel Committee has forged links between Canadians and Israelis. In that respect, it has served a useful advocacy role.

As we seek to address the challenges I have laid out this afternoon, there is scope for the CIC, like other NGOs, to be more directly involved in moving forward human security initiatives and co-operation. I would welcome the opportunity to work with you in channeling CIC attention, effort and action to this end, in particular in efforts to bringing lasting peace to the Middle East.

It was another Isaiah, Mr. Berlin's biblical namesake, whose vision of peace still provides inspiration:

"In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria; the Assyrian will come to Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians. In that day Israel shall be a third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth which the Lord of hosts has blessed saying: Blessed be My people Egypt, and Assyria the work of My hands and Israel, My inheritance."

Canada and Israel are strong partners. As Israel takes bold steps toward realizing this vision, to establishing peace in the new millennium, it can count on continued Canadian support and friendship.

I appreciate the CIC's contribution to this relationship and am pleased to have had the opportunity of sharing my thoughts with you today.

Thank you.





# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

Government  
Policy

2000/12

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

TO THE MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE 200TH ANNIVERSARY SYMPOSIUM  
ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW YORK CITY, New York  
March 30, 2000



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



It is a great pleasure for me to be here with you tonight to celebrate the bicentennial of Middlebury College. It is also a privilege to be speaking to you here at the New York Public Library. Like Middlebury, this institution has long stood as a model of democratic learning. I couldn't think of a more appropriate venue to acknowledge this milestone in the college's history.

For two hundred years, Middlebury has embodied the very best of the American experience: its enterprise, humanity, democratic values and independence. This tradition, grounded in the experience of the Enlightenment and a revolution, has made Middlebury a strong and tested seat of learning. It is clear to me that these shared values, which have formed the basis of public life in this country, remain very much alive at Middlebury as it begins its third century.

I had the opportunity to experience this tradition in the 1960s. Teaching political science at Middlebury was my first job after finishing my graduate studies at Princeton. During this time of ferment and change, however, many of the values Middlebury is based on were under fierce debate in your country.

America was coming to terms with the reality that, for a large number of its citizens, equality before the law was not a reality and the promise of opportunity was an unfulfilled dream. These were formative years both for me personally and your Republic.

In January 1965, I, along with other faculty and a group of about twenty students, travelled to a civil rights demonstration in Montgomery, Alabama, to hear and see Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. That experience taught me much about people's rights and the obligations of government. I also learned an important lesson about authority: namely, it is not absolute. Authority is conditional unless it is exercised properly by those who possess it. This experience demonstrated that when a government violates certain of its citizens' fundamental rights its legitimacy should be challenged. It also taught me that when the old ways of doing things no longer apply we should not be afraid to look for new solutions, to try and change the way things work.

That is what the civil rights movement did for your country. Among its most important achievements was the Voting Rights Act. This legislation made clear that unequal levels of power cannot and should not result in unequal rights. It enshrined inalienable standards and was a clear acknowledgement that universal moral codes of conduct exist and must be maintained through the rule of law.

At the same time, there were parallel international efforts, many of them led by the United States, to establish universal moral standards and codes for the world. This was prompted by the horrors of World War II. The conventions and instruments that existed then were inadequate to deal with the massive human suffering that was carried out, with sad irony, in the name of state power and prestige.



The Holocaust forced a serious examination of the place of international moral standards and codes in the conduct of world affairs. It also caused us to re-think the principles of national sovereignty. I believe Isaiah Berlin got it right when he said "the first public obligation of any politics whatever was to avoid extremes of suffering." He was also correct when he said that "the concentration camps were the most conclusive justification ever for the necessity of a universal moral law."

The Nuremberg trials were acknowledgement that grotesque and extreme violations of people's rights could not go unpunished. The Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva and Genocide Conventions resulted from a growing realization that human suffering should not be an acceptable or inevitable part of statecraft. They have established the basis in international law and practice for a challenge to conventional notions of sovereignty when clear criminal acts are committed.

And they speak clearly to our own time, when "extremes of suffering" remain all too common.

There is a growing multitude of threats to people today. Gross violations of human rights, environmental degradation, terrorism, transnational organized crime, infectious disease, and the drug trade all weaken the security of individuals. They affect people in their everyday lives, erode the will of communities and nations, and undermine the likelihood of progress. But of all the threats to civilians, war, in its current form, is the greatest.

Over the past decade, more than 100 conflicts have erupted, been re-ignited or intensified around the world, placing countless lives at risk. What is different is the nature of these conflicts. No longer are the majority of wars being fought between states; they are fought almost entirely within them. Often rooted in religious or ethnic discord, these conflicts are more vicious, more pernicious and more insidious than ever before. And they are taking a terrible human toll. At the beginning of the last century, 90 percent of casualties were military, at its close 90 percent are civilian. Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda and most recently East Timor are clear examples of the tragic implications of this new reality and ample evidence that the old ways of conducting foreign policy are not adequate.

Millions of vulnerable people have been forced from their homes; been driven to borders which are open one minute and closed the next; forced into hiding; separated from their families; made to act as human shields; stripped of their identities; sexually abused; and callously killed. Countless others have been denied access to life-saving food and medicine. There exists today a shocking disregard for human life and human values.

The need to combat these threats has become the basis of the Canadian approach to foreign policy. We call it our human security agenda. It is an agenda that places the rights and protection of people first.

For the past four years, we have pursued this agenda because we believe a disturbing new global reality has emerged where people are increasingly being put at risk. Human security recognizes that an evolution is taking place in international relations' theory and practice.

We are attempting to create a new political constituency to enforce existing international law and create new conventions to deal with emerging threats. This is a unique coalition of governments, NGOs and experts coming together to add strength to the belief that the protection of the individual is an essential precondition for international peace and security.

I see the threat to human security as one of the most serious international issues of the new century. I also believe that Canada has a unique role to play in leading this charge. We are an affluent society with incredible diversity. We have no territorial ambitions and no natural enemies. Above all, we have made a human security agenda work within our own borders. So, if I rock the boat a little bit, or push you in a direction you may at first not want to go, well, as the South Park song says, "Blame Canada."

The reality of modern conflict has necessitated that human security increasingly focus on the human costs of violence. Here, practice has led theory. The campaign to ban landmines and the effort to create an International Criminal Court show the power of a people-centred approach to security. Anti-personnel mines are a far greater threat to the security of people than to the well-being of states. They contribute little to state security and have a devastating impact on people's efforts to re-build their war-torn lives. The Ottawa Convention is the treaty banning the use of these indiscriminate weapons. It has prevented the laying of countless new mines, seen the destruction of millions of others in stockpiles around the world, and seen the removal from the ground of so many more.

For its part, the International Criminal Court, founded in Rome under Canadian chairmanship, holds individuals responsible for their atrocities and promises to prevent the future abuse of defenceless civilians. It is the first significant new international institution in the battle against war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. It is a major step toward real international accountability.

If I may for a moment acknowledge the contributions of two Vermonters to this agenda. Senator Patrick Leahy has been a great ally in the campaign to ban landmines and he continues to work hard in Washington for ratification of the Ottawa Convention. And Noble Peace Prize winner Jody Williams is a testament to the might of the new



diplomacy, where the mixture of powerful ideas, persistent persuasion, public advocacy and partnership with civil society has proven remarkably effective in pushing government agendas and promoting human security.

By putting people first, rather than focussing exclusively on the security of territories or governments, they acknowledge the need to place people on an equal footing with states in international relations.

This assertion worries some — but it should not. Human security does not replace national security — quite the opposite. Democratic, tolerant states with open institutions strengthen the human security of their citizens and therefore, their own sovereignty. What's more, the state remains the most powerful instrument for collective action in the defence of human security.

To act in defence of human security implies to some a direct challenge to the sovereign rights of states. But intervening in defence of suffering people is not a direct assault on sovereignty. For such an action to be contemplated, the state in question must be unwilling or unable to protect its people. If that is the case, the state has either collapsed, or failed in its duty to its people. The international community's only purpose, at this point, must be to end the massive suffering of civilians. By doing so, we are ensuring the state's sovereignty over the long term.

For those who have suffered under colonialism and other outside involvement in their countries, scepticism is understandable. For them, intervention has become another word for intrusion. This need not be the case. Preventing abuse, stopping atrocities and dealing with the impact of war are also their issues, pertaining to their realities and clearly affecting stability in their backyard.

To be sure, this is not an easy subject to grapple with. It poses serious challenges for us all — in government, in academia, in civil society and in the press. But it none-the-less deserves a serious airing because it represents the most significant issues at the beginning of the new century on the meaning and direction of world affairs. We must all be engaged in this debate — in Ottawa, at Middlebury and on CNN.

As United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has said, "the word intervention has a more benign meaning. We all applaud the policeman who intervenes to stop a fight, or the teacher who prevents big boys from bullying the smaller one. And medicine uses the word "intervention" to describe the act of the surgeon, who saves lives by "intervening" to remove malignant growths, or to repair damaged organs." The definition of intervention to end suffering is as broad.

Humanitarian intervention does not only mean enforcement action. Preventive and non-coercive action is often the best, and certainly most desirable, way to ensure the

security of people. Here, I am talking about efforts to mediate an end to tensions or conflicts at their earliest stages, before civilians become victims. These are all initiatives Canada has been taking at the UN and in other international forums. Efforts at confidence building, promoting good governance, democratic institution building and preventive diplomacy are all legitimate types of intervention and must be exhausted before enforcement action is contemplated.

Successful preventive and non-coercive action can only work, however, if there is adequate and credible early warning that the rights of people are at risk. And these rights can only be protected if there is sufficient multilateral political will to act.

Generating the necessary political will means that the objectives and methods of humanitarian intervention require broad support. Here we are at a crossroads. Everyone acknowledges the need to protect people, but how we do it is not so clear. That lack of clarity has resulted in tragedy. One only need remember Rwanda to be reminded of this.

Canada will further the human security agenda at the UN when we assume the presidency of the Security Council in April. We will follow up on the Secretary-General's landmark report to the Security Council on Protecting Civilians in Armed Conflict, which Canada requested, and which has resulted, for the first time, in peacekeepers being charged with protecting civilian populations in Sierra Leone. Canada will also look at, among other topics, the effective application of sanctions, and the situation of women in Afghanistan. These are all part of our effort to broaden the definition of security on the Security Council.

In order to assuage the fears of some states on this issue, it would be useful to outline the various levels or degrees of action. It would also help clarify what is meant by intervention and what constitutes an appropriate response.

First, I need to be very clear on one point. If prevention fails and it becomes clear that intervening militarily is necessary, then the threshold must be high. I am not talking about taking enforcement action over minor violations of human rights. There are other ways to censure such misgovernance. When I talk about enforcement action I am talking about preventing or stopping massive human suffering. Military intervention for humanitarian purposes is called for only in severe cases — genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and massive and systematic violations of human rights and humanitarian law.

The first level of intervention would see the use of appropriate people on the ground, such as official diplomatic representatives and applicable members of the NGO community, to prevent an escalation in tensions or fighting.



Nor can we ignore the global impact of the non-governmental sector. We have begun working with Canadian business, to help them negotiate the sometimes difficult human rights situations they operate in overseas. We hope that by signing onto voluntary codes of conduct, these businesses will be able to promote Canadian values and policy, and use their influence with belligerents to help ensure that the people's rights and security are respected in situations of armed conflict.

There is also a more sinister side to business practices in conflict zones. Here I am referring to the purveyors of the new war economy — among others, the arms merchants and diamond traders who flout sanctions and prolong conflict. In Angola, as a new and bold independent expert report confirms, these non-state actors have facilitated war and destroyed a long-negotiated peace deal. Canada, which heads the Security Council's Angola Sanctions Committee, will be bringing this issue to the Council during our April presidency and proposing substantive measures to end these practices. The same tests must be applied to other criminal activities; to the money launderers, and drug traffickers and those who provide precursor chemicals for the manufacture of narcotics.

So, we are saying that there are a number of options that must be explored and resources mobilized. To use these options effectively, many international institutions require updating. Canada is doing so by integrating the human dimension into the work of the G-8, the OAS [Organization of American States], the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] and the UN.

But, if this diplomacy fails and preventive initiatives are rejected, the international community must then consider multilateral enforcement action. Intervening militarily, as I have said, is not an easy option and cannot be taken lightly, but its use must always be on the table. For this to become a reality, laws and practices must be strengthened, political will mobilized and military and civilian capacity developed.

This should be the basis for serious international review; one which engages the international community at a high level, like the Brundtland Commission did on the issue of the environment.

Here, the United States, with all of its capacity, has an important role to play.

Acting unilaterally serves no one's interests. If I may turn back to the 1960s for a moment and to the point I made about greater power not equalling greater rights; if great powers operate outside of international norms and conventions, and if they bypass indispensable international forums, in pursuit of their foreign policy goals, human security is weakened.

By promoting the safety of people from conflict and abuse overseas, and supporting vital multilateral institutions, the United States will increase its national security and the security of its citizens at home and abroad.

It cannot, however, take the position that it is above the law because it is a superpower. It must use its substantial influence to help to build the necessary international law, practice and institutions to give real leadership on this crucial and defining issue of our time.

Human security and the protection of people in situations of conflict are all our responsibility. I recently read Peter Gourevitch's book chronicling his time in Rwanda. He tells of how young Hutu girls in a convent school refused to leave the side of their Tutsi friends, even though they were ordered to do so by the genocidaires. If there is a lesson for our time, then this is it. If defenceless young women can stand in front of men with machetes and guns for the sake of their friends' lives, we in the international community can do at least that much. If we don't, how will those most affected by conflict ever believe that there is such a thing as an international community willing to uphold the basic dignity of humankind?

Thank you.



# Statement

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/13

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS

BY

THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

AT THE SECOND READING OF

THE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY ACT

OTTAWA, Ontario  
April 6, 2000  
(5:00 p.m. EDT)







One of the 20th century's great thinkers, Isaiah Berlin, once expressed his deep conviction that the Nazi concentration camps offered the most conclusive justification ever for the necessity of a universal moral law, and that the abominations of the Second World War reinforced his view that the primary duty of any politics was to avoid the "extremes of (human) suffering."

For the past half century — from the Nuremburg trials, to the elaboration of international humanitarian and human rights conventions, to the creation of the international criminal tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia — there has been movement by the global community to fulfil this duty, to develop universal norms to defend and protect people, and to create the structures needed to ensure accountability for those who inflict extremes of suffering on others.

The adoption of the Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), almost two years ago, is a gigantic step forward in these efforts.

That is why it was my privilege last December to table Bill C-19, the Crimes Against Humanity Act. This legislation would implement in Canada the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It would also strengthen the legislative foundation for criminal prosecutions in Canada.

In considering this Bill, we must bear in mind the vital reasons *why* we so urgently need to support the International Criminal Court.

Throughout the world, human security has long been threatened by shocking violations of humanitarian law. Instead of diminishing over time, the scale of such violence only worsened in the 20th century. More than ever, civilians are the deliberate targets of these brutal violations. Millions of men, women and children have suffered mass murder, rape and torture. People have been horribly mutilated for no reason other than hatred. Concentration camps have appeared and re-appeared as prisons of unrestrained sadism.

Sadly, the international community has too often reacted to such crimes with indifference or inaction. The resulting climate of impunity has only encouraged other extremists to commit greater violations. If human security is to be safeguarded, this culture of impunity must be replaced by a culture of accountability.

Establishing accountability is a moral imperative, one that is strongly supported by Canadians. But it is also a practical imperative. With globalization and porous borders, we have repeatedly seen how crimes against humanity can have serious international repercussions. These massive atrocities create population displacements, aggravate conflicts, and jeopardize regional and international stability.

Human security calls for new tools and new institutions to deal with these problems in a preventative manner. We can no longer afford to wait for disaster before acting. Part of the solution is holding violators responsible for their actions, thus deterring future violations and protecting potential victims.

The creation of war crimes tribunals to deal with mass atrocities in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda marked a major step forward. However, this *ad hoc* approach suffers from profound weaknesses, such as substantial start-up costs and delays. It is also dependent on the wrangling of the Security Council, leading to selective justice. The creation of a permanent independent institution will overcome many of these weaknesses. Because of its permanence, it will also serve as a more reliable deterrent.

This is why Canadians have expressed such strong support for the ICC and for Canada's leadership role in pressing for an independent and effective International Criminal Court. Indeed, Canada chaired the final negotiations in which the international community adopted the ICC Statute, in July of 1998.

The ICC Statute provides for a permanent court to try those accused of the most serious crimes recognized in international law, namely genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Significantly, the Statute contains essential provisions responding to the plight of women and children in armed conflict.

The ICC is not a threat to Canadian sovereignty. Out of respect for national sovereignty, the ICC Statute recognizes that states have the first right to prosecute these crimes. The ICC is a Court of last resort — it will have jurisdiction only where national judicial systems are unwilling or unable to investigate these crimes.

The ICC Statute contains numerous other safeguards which protect legitimate national interests. Several provisions ensure that the Court will not be used for frivolous or politically motivated investigations or prosecutions. Its prosecutor and judges must meet the highest professional standards and must be elected by an Assembly of States Parties. Its crimes are carefully defined in accordance with existing international law.

The ICC will be established in the Hague once 60 states have ratified the Statute. Today, nearly 100 states have signed the Statute and eight have ratified. States must also carry out the necessary legislative changes to implement the ICC Statute. With the *Crimes Against Humanity Act*, Canada is the first country to have developed comprehensive implementing legislation.

This Act would create new offences of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and breaches of command responsibility by military and civilian leaders. These changes will allow Canada to prosecute those responsible or to surrender them to the ICC.

Similar provisions would also be created with respect to these serious crimes when committed outside of Canada. These new provisions will overcome some of the problems we have faced in the past. The legislation will strengthen Canada's ability to carry out successful prosecutions of such crimes, wherever and whenever they occur.

In addition, new offences would be created to protect the administration of justice of the ICC, as well as the safety of judges, officials and witnesses.

The Act would enable Canada to surrender persons sought by the ICC for genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes. A person who is the subject of a request for surrender by the ICC would not be able to claim immunity from arrest or surrender. Canada would also be able to provide other forms of assistance to the ICC in investigating offences, in much the same way that it assists other states with normal investigations.

Moreover, the Act would ensure that those who possess or launder the proceeds from these offences could be prosecuted. Money obtained from forfeited assets or the enforcement of fines will be paid into a Crime Against Humanity fund, for the benefit of the victims of these serious crimes.

I hope that this Bill can be put before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade for careful review. Moving forward with this legislation will affirm Canada's commitment to ensuring that the world's worst criminals do not escape justice.

The adoption of the ICC Statute was a watershed in history, a breaking with a past in which the victims of these crimes were so often ignored. One hundred and twenty (120) states have already expressed their support for the ICC Statute at the Rome Conference.

Since that time, some states which had concerns about the Statute have changed their position and have joined in support of the Statute. Under Canadian chairmanship, the international community is working out technical instruments to ensure the Court's effective operation.

The ICC has already played a valuable role by changing international thinking about impunity. Since the adoption of the ICC Statute, we have witnessed the indictment of Pinochet and the affirmation that former heads of state do not enjoy immunity for international crimes; and the indictment of Milosevic, a sitting head of state. Policy-makers and the general public are insisting on justice in places such as Cambodia and East Timor. There has been a groundswell of support for ensuring accountability, particularly among the public of the world, making it a priority for governments.

I hope that we here will do our part to maintain this strong momentum, and in particular the momentum in favour of the ICC. Adoption of this legislation, and ratification of the ICC Statute, will affirm that Canadians are appalled by these crimes and that we are committed to ensuring that justice is done.

Thank you.





[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

---

2000/14

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON  
"THE CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS"

NEW YORK CITY, New York  
April 7, 2000  
(2:30 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



I wish to begin by thanking John Renninger for his informative, though sombre, briefing on the situation in Afghanistan.

I would also like to welcome to the Security Council Angela King, Assistant Secretary-General and Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women.

Her presence today underlines one of the darkest aspects of the conflict in that desperate country — the appalling violation of the rights of women and girls, in particular under the Taliban.

Indeed, the situation of women in Afghanistan is of direct concern to the Council. Their plight demonstrates again how, in today's armed conflicts, it is civilians who suffer most. And, as for all victims of armed conflict, the Council bears responsibility for their protection.

The comments of previous speakers make plain that the only unambiguous reality after two decades of civil war, destruction, brutality, violence and deprivation is that Afghan civilians — women, men and children — suffer most from this endless and senseless conflict.

All aspects of this conflict are reprehensible. But some stand out more than others.

Some five to seven million anti-personnel mines are strewn indiscriminately across Afghanistan. They have limited military significance but continue to kill or maim more than a dozen Afghan civilians daily.

The UN mine action program is making considerable, and encouraging, efforts to rid the country of these weapons. Yet the Secretary-General's most recent report indicates that new mining is underway — negating de-mining efforts and in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Ottawa Convention.

Interference with humanitarian operations, particularly the denial of safe and unhindered access to affected populations, imperils the lives of those dependent on such operations for food or medical care.

It is only through the efforts of UN agencies, the International Committee for the Red Cross [ICRC] and various non-governmental organizations [NGOs] that famine has been averted. At a minimum, it is essential that humanitarian operations in Afghanistan be allowed to continue if the war is not to claim hundreds of thousands more victims, directly or indirectly.

Perhaps most disturbing, however, is the Taliban's systematic pattern of violation of the human rights of half the population — women and girls — a violation that the Taliban misrepresent as having religious foundation.



The interdiction on women travelling for any purpose except in the company of a close male relative has been rigorously, and indeed brutally, enforced by the Taliban's virtue and vice squads.

Women daring to transgress its ordinances are subject to harsh punishment, including public beatings and torture. But those who obey are virtual prisoners, and still subject to harassment and physical abuse.

Restrictions on women's mobility, first introduced in Kabul and other cities by the United Front and retained or extended by the Taliban since their seizure of control, not only deprive women of their human rights and the most basic degree of personal autonomy, but also impede their access to employment, education and health care.

These restrictions are not a matter of mere neglect but of active policy, and have compound effects on the situation of women and girls — maternal mortality rates for women in Afghanistan are the second highest in the world, and while overall literacy rates are estimated at 30 percent, for females this number is 13 percent.

I note reports that there has been a modest, if localized, amelioration in recent months, with the Taliban permitting home-schooling for girls, for example.

This incremental progress needs to be redoubled, however, if it is to represent even a first step toward meeting the minimal standards required by the international community.

People around the world are outraged over the treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan. Canadians are no exception. Two years ago, I personally delivered some 5000 letters from Canadians to the Secretary-General expressing their concerns about the situation of women in Afghanistan.

A group of concerned Canadians recently formed a National Coalition in Support of Afghan Women, which is working to mobilize worldwide action to address the status of women in Afghanistan. I have met this organization's leadership to seek their ideas on how best to address this profound problem.

If I might add a personal note, this initiative is very much in keeping with the engagement of individual Canadian women in promoting human rights. For example, the late Mrs. Rae Scott, a prominent and respected Canadian women's rights activist, would no doubt have fully supported the Coalition's objectives and those of like-minded groups.

I am also pleased to announce today that Canada will provide \$300 000 through the UN Human Rights Trust Fund to support activities of local and international NGOs involved in human rights training and programming to benefit Afghan women and girls.

Afghanistan has joined the small but growing number of countries where the state has disintegrated, leaving a vacuum. The Taliban claim to be a bona fide government but behave as a criminal gang, harbouring international terrorists and allowing their country to become the world's largest exporter of illegal opiates.

The acceptance they crave must be earned, through national reconciliation, the formation of a broad-based and representative government, the end of tolerance for terrorism and drug trafficking and, above all, through respect for human rights, including women's human rights.

I have spoken of civil war in Afghanistan. However, it was foreign invasion that touched off the war, and the war has been sustained for two decades by material support from various foreign sources.

The 6+2 group has a special responsibility in bringing a peaceful solution to the Afghan conflict. Regrettably, the Secretary-General's most recent report notes bluntly that certain members of this group pay mostly "lip service" to the objective of peace and continue to support the belligerents. While it is true that only the Afghans themselves can bring peace to their country, members of the 6+2 can make a difference in their ability to wage war.

The Security Council also has a vital role to play in Afghanistan. There are concrete actions it can take to address the situation:

- Insist on full and unhindered access to affected populations by UN and associated personnel, the ICRC and other humanitarian personnel, and insist on guarantees for the safety and security of such staff.
- Demand that all parties acquit their responsibilities toward the entire civilian population, with particular attention to restoring the human rights of women.
- Demand an immediate end to hostilities, the beginning of honest negotiations, and the involvement of the Secretary-General's good offices in the search for peace and national reconciliation.
- Look for ways to pressure the warring factions to come to the negotiating table.
- Finally, consider measures to cut off the supply of weapons to belligerents.

In October 1999, the Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the Taliban for harbouring Osama bin Laden and calling for the imposition of sanctions if the Taliban failed to deliver the indicted terrorist to the appropriate authorities.

Canada's decision to support the resolution was based on our strong position against terrorist acts and states or groups that harbour those who commit them, and the recognition that the sanctions were carefully targeted to hurt Taliban interests and ensure minimal impact on innocent civilians. We were also motivated by our belief that the Security Council has an important role to play in the fight against terrorism.

At the same time, however, we expressed the view that the Council should show similar commitment in addressing the serious humanitarian and human rights situation in the country.

Today's discussion and the Presidential Statement we will adopt today should underline further the Council's profound dismay with the continued suffering of the Afghan people and our determination to press forward in exploring means to usefully contribute to a resolution of the conflict.

Thank you.

# Statement

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/15

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

GENEVA, Switzerland  
April 13, 2000



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I am pleased to address the Commission on Human Rights today for it is central to the work of the United Nations.

The United Nations is often seen as an organization of states. Heads of government and foreign ministers speak at its assemblies. Ambassadors and diplomats work in its conference halls.

But the UN Charter is written in the name of "we the peoples." Human security — the promotion of human rights, the advancement of human safety, the protection of human lives — is the fundamental guiding principle of the organization.

Ultimately, the United Nations exists for and must serve the needs and hopes of people everywhere.

Without question, the peoples of the world — particularly those victimized by conflict and oppression, those affected by crime and terrorism, those subject to the darker side of globalization — need the United Nations. So the United Nations needs to put the security of people — human security — at the centre of everything it does.

And without doubt, human security begins with human rights. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is vital to this task.

This body, devoted solely to debating human rights, setting international standards and overseeing their implementation is indispensable. But the Commission cannot hope to protect human rights for all peoples by acting on its own.

Promoting human security, including truly universal respect for human rights, means working to ensure that every part of the United Nations views its mandate from a more people-centred perspective. It means focussing attention — and action — on specific challenges. And it means mainstreaming concern for human rights and human security through all UN organs and agencies.

This month, as President of the Security Council, Canada is trying to broaden the Council's approach to include this human security perspective in both word and deed.

There has been progress.

Issues of direct relevance to the safety of people are before the Council: the plight of war-affected children, the abuse of small arms, the impact of sanctions and the consequences of war economies.

Concrete action is being taken. The protection of civilians is an explicit part of the mandates for the UN operations in Sierra Leone and East Timor, and child protection advisors and human rights units are now regular parts of peacekeeping missions.

But the Council can do more.

This week, Canada will bring forward for Council examination the report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the UN during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda. This report raises serious issues about the Council's action — and inaction — in the face of widespread human suffering, and it provides useful recommendations on how to avoid these tragedies in the future.

But clearly, the Council is often limited by other agendas and political pressures. For example, serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law continue in the brutal armed conflict in Sudan. Despite this, the Council has so far failed to take up proposals to lend its support to peace efforts there and to address the enormous humanitarian suffering that the violence continues to inflict on innocent people.

Canada believes we must use every means possible to ensure that this ongoing conflict that has killed millions and produced the highest number of internally displaced persons in Africa, receives more, not less, scrutiny from the international community.

For this reason, it is imperative that the Commission on Human Rights take a firm stand and express the deep concern of the international community.

Canada has co-sponsored a resolution which condemns bombings of schools and hospitals, the use of landmines against civilians, forced displacements, abduction of women and children, killing of humanitarian personnel and denials of access for humanitarian organizations. We strongly support the High Commissioner's announcement that she will be sending a human rights consultant to Sudan to assess the possibility of a human rights field office.

These efforts need to be complemented by actions at other organs of the United Nations, through the international financial institutions and through renewed efforts of the IGAD [Inter-Governmental Authority on Development] partners to establish concrete benchmarks for progress from all parties toward lasting peace, and with various direct bilateral efforts with the Government of Sudan to seek an end to war and suffering.

Indeed, the Council's shortcomings underline the importance of strengthening other tools at the UN to ensure that there can be no impunity for human rights violations.

The adoption of the International Criminal Court statute, for example, represents a significant step forward in increasing accountability for serious human rights abuses. It provides a concrete way to bring to justice those responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. It now needs to be ratified as quickly as possible. This would send an unambiguous message: violators will be prosecuted.

Earlier this week, the Commission discussed the High Commissioner's report on her mission to Chechnya. We remain convinced that human security cannot be restored in that troubled region without an open and inclusive investigation of all allegations from all sides. To that end, Canada would strongly support the establishment of an independent commission of inquiry and emphasize the importance of participation by international experts in its work.

In Sierra Leone, the international community faces the dual challenge of addressing impunity for gross human rights abuses and providing support to the Lome Peace Accords. Canada is presenting a resolution to the Commission this year which aims at addressing these two challenges and we have offered financial support for the creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Constructive dialogue with this Commission and its mechanisms is vital to the credibility of the United Nations, and is especially important in cases where governments deny the existence of problems or challenge the Commission's authority to consider them.

Next week, you will be taking action on the human rights situations in a number of countries, including Cuba, China, Iran, Iraq, Sierra Leone and Sudan. It is important that the international community be allowed to address human rights concerns wherever they occur — particularly this Commission, which exists for the purpose of giving free and open voice to human rights concerns.

The promotion of human rights, however, involves much more than public expressions of concern. It involves concrete measures to build sustainable human rights capacity. Through our international assistance for human rights and democratic development, our Peacebuilding Program, our International Human Rights Internship Program and the Canadian Human Rights Commission, Canada is taking steps to assist countries, such as Guatemala, Indonesia and South Africa, to build lasting human rights institutions.

I am pleased to report that Canada will reinforce its efforts to build human rights capacity. This year we are establishing a Human Security Fund, a \$10 million annual program dedicated to supporting projects to advance human security.

For its part, the Office of the High Commissioner has increased the number of human rights field presences with, for example, the establishment of the Office in Colombia to which Canada was pleased to contribute. Special mechanisms, like the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression initiated by Canada with others, can also point to areas where international help is needed to implement human rights commitments.

In order for the human rights system to work in a credible fashion, requests for visits by the special mechanisms cannot go unanswered. To enable states to better assess the work of the special mechanisms, this week Canada is releasing its third annual report,



*For the Record*, a compendium that brings together all the human rights reporting from the mechanisms and treaty bodies.

The Secretary-General's Millennium report speaks of the three challenges that face us: ensuring freedom from fear, freedom from want and a sustainable future. To meet these challenges there can be no question of choosing between economic, social and cultural rights, and civil and political rights. We need to place development at the service of human rights, and human rights at the service of development. Canada will continue to take a lead role in debt relief and poverty reduction for the poorest of the poor countries.

We do this because the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets a common standard for all peoples. But all too often people are marginalized from decision making; have unequal access to food, water and housing; or are targets of hate because they have disabilities, speak a different language, practise a different religion, or have a different sexual orientation. Groups that are more susceptible to human rights abuses need greater consideration by the international community.

That is why the World Conference Against Racism, to be held in South Africa next year is so important. It will help raise awareness in the international community of discrimination on the grounds of race — a phenomenon that unfortunately occurs in every country of the world.

The rights of the child, both nationally and internationally, are a priority for Canada's human security agenda. This Commission is making concrete progress in moving these forward. The adoption of two Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child will be an important first step in eradicating the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, as well as protecting children from the devastating impact of war.

The Commission's work provided the foundation. Early entry into force of these new instruments and concrete plans for their implementation are now urgently needed to make them truly matter in the lives of the children they are intended to help.

That is the motivation for Canada's actions to address the plight of war-affected children. Later this month in Accra, I and the Foreign Minister of Ghana will co-host a Conference on War-Affected Children in West Africa, in an effort to catalyze initiatives in a region where children are particularly vulnerable to the ravages of war.

In September, Canada will host an International Conference on War-Affected Children that will bring together ministers and experts, NGOs and the private sector, militaries and youth to develop a common approach and a global agenda for action to protect war-affected children.

In their defence of human rights, NGOs often themselves become vulnerable to human rights violations. We worked for many years to achieve consensus on the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders. At the time of its adoption, the Declaration was welcomed by states from all regions of the world.

This broad support must now be sustained through the creation, by this Commission, of a mechanism to ensure that human rights defenders have someone to speak out to defend them when they are prevented from speaking out in defence of others.

Over a decade ago, Canada was proud to be among the leaders in initiating the Declaration. I would now urge Commission members to give the mechanism their strongest possible support.

We have come a long way in this Commission in recognizing that the human rights of women must be part and parcel of every discussion on human rights. Although the human rights of women are now firmly on the agenda of the Commission, there is still a long way to go before we can say that they are integrated into the work of the entire UN system.

In every field of UN endeavour — peacekeeping missions, development assistance, programs for refugees or the internally displaced — the human rights of women should be an integral part of both policy and practice.

That is why Canada introduced into this Commission a number of years ago the first resolutions on the human rights of women. We are continuing this work. Last week we raised the issue of the violation of the human rights of women and girls in Afghanistan during the Security Council's discussion last week on the situation in that country and received unanimous support for a condemnation of existing practices by the Taliban.

Later, the Commission will be discussing the human rights of Indigenous people — a matter of urgency and concern to Canada, based on our own past of neglect. Canada is addressing our own situation through the implementation of "Gathering Strength", Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan which is a joint plan to renew partnerships, strengthen Aboriginal governance, and support economic development and stronger, more self-sufficient Aboriginal communities. We have begun to establish the climate of trust and mutual responsibility that is needed for joint progress on the challenges ahead through, for example, the landmark Nisga'a Treaty and the creation of Nunavut, a new territory in Canada's north.

These same principles and goals apply in the consideration of indigenous issues within the United Nations and especially at the Commission. Canada remains committed to the adoption of a strong and effective Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples during the International Decade.

In particular, we support the creation of a permanent forum at the United Nations which will serve as an advisory body on indigenous issues. To this end, we urge the Commission to approve the resolution which is being prepared along the lines of the proposal developed in partnership with Indigenous people.

The ultimate obligation for respecting human rights rests with us — the member states. The Commission on Human Rights provides an opportunity for frank and open debate about human rights violations around the world. Frank debate requires that countries examine human rights not only in other parts of the world but also at home.

Canadians attach great importance to this country's continued membership in the Commission. Our approach to human rights is firmly anchored in values fundamental to Canadians. These values are reflected in our democratic institutions and practices, in our multicultural society, in our federal and provincial human rights commissions, in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and in our traditions of peace, order and good governance. I am proud of this. But we are not perfect. No state is.

That is why it is our collective duty here to ensure that the Commission cannot only continue its work but also improve it. Our job at the Commission is to review progress made and to identify the work that remains to be done.

As Foreign Minister, I have made human security a cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy. Human security rests on a foundation of respect for human rights. This means an active and responsive Commission on Human Rights. Canada has been and remains committed to this objective.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/16

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION ON  
RWANDA

NEW YORK CITY, New York  
April 14, 2000  
(1:20 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





Isaiah Berlin once expressed his deep conviction that the abominations of World War II offered the most conclusive justification ever for a universal moral law and reinforced his view that the primary duty of politics was to avoid "extremes of suffering." This sage counsel has gone unheeded.

Six years ago this month the genocide in Rwanda began.

For Rwandans, it all too brutally exposed the enduring, darker side of human nature — the reality of suspicion, destruction, hatred and unrestrained violence.

For each of us, I doubt any in this Chamber can look back at that time without remorse and great sadness at our abject failure to help the people of Rwanda in their time of need. The unchecked brutality of the genocidaires made a mockery, once again, of our pledge "never again."

For the United Nations, the Rwandan tragedy came close to extinguishing belief in our capacity to fulfill its founding purpose. The presence of UN peacekeepers on the ground created a perception among civilians that they would be secure from violence. That such confidence in the UN was ill-founded is a matter of great shame and disappointment to all who support the principles and ideals which underpin the Charter.

Still, the fact that those soldiers in blue berets, whose cries for support were so studiously ignored, still managed to save tens of thousands, is a source of pride and inspiration.

One peacekeeper, Canadian UNAMIR [UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda] Commander Lt.-General Roméo Dallaire, announced his retirement this week. As he put it simply, "I am a casualty of Rwanda — an injured officer." His moral integrity, vision, insight and leadership under unimaginable circumstances shine as an example. Individual acts of courage like his give some hope for realizing the goals of this Organization.

The Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide chronicles the lapses, the blunders and the shortcomings. It also draws lessons to which we should all pay close attention.

We owe our gratitude to Mr. Carlsson and his colleagues for their work. We commend Secretary-General Annan for making certain we did not forget and for publicly acknowledging this Organization's failure in this tragedy.

The Security Council fully shares this responsibility. The best way to honour the victims now is through a firm commitment never to turn away from civilians victimized by armed conflict, but instead to focus energy and attention to protect them — in both word and deed.

The Inquiry's recommendations make clear what needs to be done.

The culture of impunity must end. There is an undeniable, growing international consensus that those responsible for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity be held to account. The establishment by the Council of the tribunals on the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda moved this forward. The adoption of the statute of the International Criminal Court is its clearest expression yet.

Council members have a special responsibility to ensure that the statute of the Court is ratified rapidly and to make sure it works effectively. This will help deter future abuse. Let the message be unambiguous and clearly understood: violators will be prosecuted and punished.

Information flow must be improved. The Inquiry leaves no doubt that the Council must enhance its ability to analyze and monitor volatile situations, and improve information-sharing and communications within the UN system, especially between the Security Council and UN departments, as well as between member states.

To that end, we welcome the efforts by the UN Secretariat and UN humanitarian agencies to develop a framework for co-ordination with an emphasis on prevention and preparedness.

For its part, the Security Council needs to continue to broaden its range of interlocutors and sources of information. The more varied its channels of communication, the greater chance it will hear the signals of looming dangers.

We have nothing to fear from allowing the voices of suffering and oppression to be heard early, often and openly. This does not undermine the Council's legitimacy or its capacity to act. On the contrary, it serves to strengthen it.

Rapid and resolute response is essential. Yet at a time when requests for troops to help protect civilians are growing, the capacity of the UN itself to manage complex missions is under great strain.

Enhancing the UN's stand-by arrangements, including a Rapidly Deployable Mission HQ capacity, is vital to reversing this trend. So is a co-ordinated, integrated approach to identify, mobilize and commit the necessary military — and increasingly civilian — resources. Yet efforts to implement these forward-looking approaches are, quite frankly, left to languish.

The Security Council is on the front line here. It is not enough just to authorize peace operations. It is high time for the Council to become more actively engaged in making sure the capacity is there to carry out these missions quickly and effectively.

The Council also needs to ensure that UN operations be given adequate finances, the necessary resources, suitably robust mandates and clear rules of engagement to carry out the tasks assigned to them.

There are signs the Council is taking this lesson to heart. Missions in Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic and East Timor have the mandates and personnel commitments to adequately protect people and to address the realities on the ground. But the Council's response in the Democratic Republic of the Congo suggests that there is still room for improvement.

Together, these measures — if followed through — will allow us to better resolve conflict, promote peace, enhance human security and help prevent humanitarian disasters.

But if we are honest with ourselves, there is no certainty that the most severe abuse, as in Rwanda, will not happen again. Indeed, there is ample evidence to the contrary. Preventive efforts will not always succeed. The spiral into extremes of human suffering cannot always be constrained.

In these most exceptional situations the protection of civilians requires strengthening our disposition to intervene with force if necessary.

Let me be very clear. Military intervention is called for only in the most severe cases: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and massive and systematic violations of human rights and humanitarian law causing widespread suffering and loss of life. The test we have in mind is very high.

And the goal of intervention is not to threaten the territorial integrity of the state, but to bring an end to widespread suffering. Indeed, outside intervention to protect people is only conceivable when those who control the state are unable or patently unwilling to fulfill this basic trust.

In our view, any discussion about the use of force to alleviate extremes of suffering — and the Council's role in such action — needs to address these three considerations:

**Justification for action.** The cumulative weight of international human rights and humanitarian law, the global trend against impunity, and the precedents set by the Council itself all justify action.

**Guidelines for action.** Once the determination has been made that the violence, real or anticipated, meets the test, there are other factors with which to guide a decision to intervene — or not to intervene — including: whether time has fully run out on other peaceful means to resolve the threat; whether there is a danger that the threat, if left alone, jeopardizes regional or international security; and whether not being able to intervene everywhere means we must not intervene anywhere.



A framework for action. This should be permissive enough to stop massive and systematic violations, but clearly balanced with strong safeguards to ensure that it is not misused.

To this end, we need to be certain that: the severity of the crisis is fully corroborated; military force can and will contribute to ending widespread suffering and loss of life; the level of force employed is appropriate to the circumstances; and the use of force is multilateral and widely supported and that it is part of a longer-term strategy to build and sustain peace.

These three considerations — the justification, the guidelines and the framework for action — are by no means definitive. They are, however, elements that we believe should be addressed in any examination about the use of force for humanitarian purposes.

Many have suggested that this is a debate the Council is not yet ready to engage in. However, it is a discussion we cannot and should not avoid having — the sooner the better. The price of inaction has simply been too high — for the victims of the Rwandan genocide, for others subject to extreme abuse, for the security of people generally, and for the credibility of this Organization.

Perhaps if we had grappled with this subject earlier, worked to arrive at some common agreement on it, we might have done more to avoid the Rwandan genocide or to stop it once it began.

Second chances are rare. We have one now. Perhaps the most important proposal contained in the Inquiry is for a system-wide action plan to prevent genocide — to which I would add all crimes against humanity and war crimes. The Millennium Assembly offers an occasion to work towards this goal, as the Secretary-General suggests, "to reassert the centrality of international humanitarian and human rights law."

To that end, the legacy of the Rwandan genocide is not just tragic but also hopeful. In his account of that time, Peter Gourevitch tells of how young, defenceless Hutu girls in a convent school refused to leave the side of their Tutsi friends, even though ordered to do so by the genocidaires. Their courage and sacrifice should now be our guide and inspiration.

The development of a UN action plan to protect people from the most egregious forms of abuse and from the most serious violators would be too late for past victims — but hopefully not too late for us and for future generations.

Thank you.

# Statement

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/17

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
ON THE GENERAL USE OF SANCTIONS REGIMES

NEW YORK, New York  
April 17, 2000  
(5:40 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



Sanctions are a potent means to promote peace. They are a way to prevent or stop violence against civilians. They are a method to curb those who systematically violate the rights of others. They are a means to save human lives in the face of brutality and destruction. They are, in short, a vital tool for the Council to protect and advance the safety of people.

However, after a decade of unprecedented recourse to this instrument, the record is decidedly mixed.

The successes are well known. So too are the shortcomings.

Sometimes, sanctions have served as an inappropriate default in the face of an immediate crisis and in the absence of the political will for stronger measures.

Too often, sanctions have suffered from hasty or ambiguous design, a loose commitment to implementation, inadequate monitoring and lax enforcement.

Most importantly, the costs in human terms are sometimes too high. While the harmful impact of some sanctions, particularly comprehensive measures, on innocent civilians may be unintended — it is no less real or damaging for those who feel the sanctions' effects. In these cases, sanctions can hurt, rather than help people.

As a result, the risk is real that the legitimacy, credibility and utility of this important tool of Security Council action will be increasingly questioned in the eyes of the international community.

That would be wrong. But there is little doubt that, in some instances, this is already happening.

Our meeting today is recognition that Security Council members, indeed the majority of member states, understand the need to address a fundamental challenge: maximizing the effectiveness of sanctions while minimizing the harm to civilians.

Sanctions have worked where the clear political will and resources existed to make them work. This in turn depended on applying the right sanctions with the most appropriate mixture of punitive and deterrent measures, incentives for compliance and the highest humanitarian concern.

In our view, there are five considerations to getting these sanctions right.

Strategy. Sanctions are likely to succeed only if they are integrated into a broader Council strategy of conflict prevention and resolution. This means ensuring that all the terms of a sanctions regime not only be clear, but clearly linked to a process of negotiation.



Targets. The aim of sanctions should be to change the behaviour of wrongdoers, to deprive them of the wherewithal to wage war and to brutalize the innocent and, in the process, to avoid harming the very people the sanctions aim to help.

In today's conflicts, this means more targeted sanctions, not only against abusive national elites, but terrorists, rebel movements, modern day warlords and other non-state actors who perpetuate or profit from human suffering.

It also means improving the use of smarter sanctions against them — financial, travel and other restrictions. The effective use of arms embargoes demands particular attention. More rigourously drafted texts, more closely monitored implementation and greater Council support for other efforts, such as the development of a convention on arms trafficking, would go some way to better addressing the very destructive flow of small arms to conflict areas.

Targeted sanctions should be combined creatively with targeted incentives. Foreign assistance, concessionary loans and credits, debt relief, technology transfers, trade benefits and security assurances are all carrots that might complement the stick of sanctions in directly influencing behaviour or encouraging those most likely to support change.

Where comprehensive sanctions exist, the need for extreme vigilance with regard to the humanitarian impact must be a priority. Humanitarian assessments before such measures are imposed, along with streamlining humanitarian exemption requests, ongoing monitoring and flexibility once they are in place, are all important.

The Iraq sanctions regime is among the most comprehensive and complex ever imposed. The objectives were and remain clear — to coerce the Iraqi leadership to rid itself of weapons of mass destruction and to desist from pursuing such programs.

However, the unintended humanitarian impact of these measures has been borne by Iraqi civilians, rather than the Baghdad regime. The utility and credibility of the sanctions have also been damaged by the impasse in discussions — attributable to the Iraqi leadership — over compliance with these measures.

Resolution 1284 is an attempt to put the Council's objectives back on track. The Council must continue to make all efforts to address the humanitarian impact. To do so, the Council should consider establishing a mechanism, such as a Humanitarian College of Commissioners with a limited time mandate, to lend profile and transparency to humanitarian issues, to regularly review the humanitarian provisions of 1284 and to make concrete recommendations on ways to improve or adjust the humanitarian program as required.

In the meantime, we all need to do our utmost to assist the Iraqi people. In that respect, I am pleased to announce that Canada will provide \$1 million in assistance through non-governmental channels for the rehabilitation of schools and to meet other basic human needs.

Engagement. If sanctions depend on the will of the international community to implement them well, then they must reflect the will of the international community — not just the interests of its more powerful members.

To that end, when sanctions are imposed, a more equitable sharing of the burdens of implementation and enforcement is important. This is especially the case for third party countries or regions close to the conflict who often suffer most, but can least afford it.

When considering the creation of sanctions, the Council needs to take its views into account, and the members concerned should be able to fully avail themselves of Article 50. Donor country conferences to address the needs of particular member states adversely affected by sanctions may be one measure to address this.

Capacity. The efficacy of sanctions regimes is determined, no more nor less, than by the capacity to implement them. The ability of the UN Secretariat to properly and fully assist the Council in the implementation of sanctions needs to be significantly upgraded. Sanctions committees also need resources to function efficiently.

Many member states need help to develop enabling legislation. Others, including Canada, could do more to improve theirs.

The deployment of international monitors and the establishment of special commissions to examine adherence to sanctions have proven useful in the past — a practice that should continue with greater institutional capacity and legal authority to investigate violations, particularly with regard to arms embargoes.

The enforcement of targeted sanctions, especially financial or arms embargoes, is also notoriously complex. But the know-how exists, and with sufficient commitment, enforcement is not impossible.

Without doubt, all of this is expensive, in both time and resources. Sanctions are far from enforcement on the cheap. But compared to the costs of other measures, like military intervention or the long-term costs in terms of human suffering of inaction, the price may not be so high. And if we are serious about making sanctions work, it is a price we can ill afford not to pay.

Framework. Our acquired experience in the use of sanctions is vast. Yet as some observers suggest, sanctions have little or only controversial standing in international law — falling into a grey zone between humanitarian law and the rules of warfare.

Many of the dilemmas associated with the use of sanctions could be addressed through the codification of legal standards. Perhaps the time has come to consider the development of an explicit legal regime for this purpose. In other areas of global activity, legal regimes serve to establish norms, and by reflecting international consensus, increase the prospects everyone will adhere to their terms.

Clearly, this idea will need to be examined closely. However, it could make sanctions more effective. Like the Convention on Landmines in disarmament matters or the creation of the International Criminal Court, it might also serve to strengthen the growing international legal framework aimed at protecting civilians.

To that end, Canada will convene a conference of experts to develop such a regime to govern the use of sanctions, including standardized policy guidelines and operational principles.

The creation of a working group on sanctions is a promising step by the Council to improve the use of sanctions. It will have Canada's full support, both in seeking concrete ways to enhance the effectiveness of current regimes and in guiding future practice.

I am especially encouraged that it will seek outside advice in doing so. To that end, I was pleased to join with the Secretary-General this morning to launch a Canadian-sponsored independent study on sanctions by the International Peace Academy — a study that expands on many of the points I have made today.

We need to apply the experience of the past decade of sanctions — good and bad — to ensure that this powerful tool is used correctly, creatively and coherently so that the result does not diminish, but rather advances, human security.

Sanctions are economic statecraft in action. When purposefully used and implemented to prevent or stop aggression, violence and abuse, it is statecraft in the service of people.

Thank you.



# Statement

CANADA ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL 1999 – 2000

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ONU2000UN>

2000/18

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

NEW YORK, New York  
April 18, 2000  
(3:40 p.m. EDT)





Tomorrow, we will consider the role and responsibility of the Security Council in protecting civilians in armed conflict. Today, we have the opportunity to take resolute Council action — and to do so where the need could not be more acute.

The endless and utterly senseless civil conflict in Angola has only one enduring certainty: civilians desperately need protection. Previous speakers have made plain the dimensions of the threats faced by ordinary Angolans. It is a place where one million souls have perished in the violence; where a complete humanitarian collapse never looms far, with people barely surviving from day to day; where for rural dwellers it is literally too dangerous to step foot out of the house for fear they could be blown away by landmines; where children are in greater peril than anywhere else on earth; where one in three people have been uprooted from their homes; and where, quite simply, no one has escaped undamaged by war.

Angola is a very rich land that is very poor in human security. Indeed, it is ironic and tragic that its very riches — mineral and petroleum wealth — have been so cruelly exploited to increase, rather than diminish, the suffering of the Angolan people. The renewed violence that has thwarted the prospects for peace might have been impossible if UNITA had not been able to misdirect earnings from these resources in the pursuit of violence.

To its considerable credit, the United Nations has been engaged from the outset in efforts to resolve the Angolan war and to establish peace. Thousands of blue berets, civilian and military, have been sent there for the cause of peace — some paying with their lives; millions of dollars have been spent in humanitarian assistance and reconstruction efforts; and countless negotiators have worked for days, weeks and months to obtain commitment by the parties to stop the fighting for good.

However, there has been little return on this enormous investment. Lasting peace remains elusive. Yet, until peace prevails, there is no alternative but to persevere.

Yesterday, the Council agreed to improve the use of sanctions as an instrument to pursue peace and advance human security. Today, we can translate that commitment into action for Angolans.

Giving real meaning to the sanctions regime against UNITA is a way forward. Denying UNITA the means to wage war would help promote peace. To be sure, this was the objective when measures to this end were adopted several years ago. But it is no secret that non-adherence to the relevant Council decisions — deliberate or otherwise — has been the rule, rather than the exception.

The Security Council took an unprecedented step to reverse this trend a year ago when it approved the creation of the independent Panel of Experts to collect specific information on compliance — and non-compliance — with the provisions of the sanctions regime, and to provide it with recommendations on how to make the sanctions work.

The Panel, working independently of the Sanctions Committee and holding themselves to the most stringent of evidentiary standards, has produced a comprehensive, well-supported and practical report for which they deserve the Council's gratitude.

Along with the Panel, the Chairman of the Sanctions Committee, Ambassador Fowler, and his able staff also merit our appreciation for the single-minded determination and vision with which this challenging initiative was pursued and completed.

They have done their work. We must now do ours. The draft resolution before the Council would operationalize many of the Panel's recommendations through specific action aimed at stopping the illicit trade in diamonds, petroleum and arms, while reinforcing financial and other restrictions on rebel leaders.

Canada will certainly do its part to ensure these measures are followed through.

We will provide \$100 000 to assist the independent monitoring mechanism provided for in the resolution to prepare its report on whether to impose additional sanctions on parties found to be in violation of the Angolan sanctions.

By their location, neighbouring countries have a greater responsibility in implementing the sanctions regime. However, it is not a burden they can, or should, be expected to shoulder alone. To that end, we are also ready to give technical and financial assistance to SADC [Southern Africa Development Community] countries to improve the effectiveness of their efforts.

Finally, Canada is prepared to sponsor the conference of experts on the diamond trade, as called for in the draft resolution. This would help devise a system of controls that would allow for increased transparency and accountability in the flow of diamonds from the source to the world's diamond bourses.

Like elsewhere, these new measures will only work if the sanctions regime is itself linked to a wider process of negotiation and to the full respect of human rights by all sides. This applies to the Angolan government, as well as to UNITA. In this regard, the Angolan government must fully assume its responsibilities towards its citizens. We call on both parties — UNITA and the Angolan government — to demonstrate leadership and to negotiate — and fully implement — an agreement on the basis of the Lusaka Accord.

After thirty years of civil conflict, the people of Angola deserve no less than lasting peace and stability.

Hopefully, the work of the Angola Sanctions Committee will contribute to that goal. This groundbreaking effort also has, I believe, further and wider application for the Council's activities and its efforts to promote human security.

The Panel's work underscores the complexity of imposing and enforcing targeted sanctions. It, nevertheless, proposes practical ways of doing so. Without question, these sanctions will require the commitment of considerable will and resources. Without doubt, there is resistance in some quarters to making them work.

However, if successful, these measures could serve as a template for focused action against belligerents in other conflict situations.

The Panel's efforts have also highlighted the reality and the impact of the new war economies — the nexus between parties to armed violence, the exploitation of people and resources and the commercial interests that profit from it. In a growing number of conflict situations, economic agendas co-exist with political and military goals in the perpetuation of violence and the victimization of people.

Addressing the implications of this situation for peace and security merits further reflection and will involve the development of creative responses by the Security Council.

Finally, the Panel's findings underline that, while Council decisions reflect the will of the international community, implementation depends on the action of individual members.

In applying targeted sanctions — financial or arms embargoes, for example — it means sharing the know-how, experience and intelligence in dealing with other threats, like money laundering and the drug trade, where tactics for confronting the threat may be similar. For some countries, Canada included, it may also mean examining existing legal tools to determine whether they could be adapted to better influence the negative behaviour of actors operating in, or from, their jurisdictions.

The Angolan war is a direct and devastating threat to the security of Angolans. The Council is right to remain involved. The work of the Angola Sanctions Committee and the Council's commitment today will hopefully bring a resolution to this conflict closer. In applying the broader lessons of these efforts, it may also help the Council to protect, not just Angolans, but civilians victimized by armed conflict wherever it occurs.

Thank you.





# Statement

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/19

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
ON THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS IN ARMED CONFLICT

NEW YORK, New York  
April 19, 2000  
(2:15 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



Allow me to join others in expressing appreciation to Secretary-General Annan and Mr. Kellenberger for their remarks which vividly evoked the suffering endured by millions of war-affected people. Their words underline how the victimization of civilians has become the motive, means and manifestation of modern armed conflict.

It is a cruel reality that none of us can ignore. In our increasingly interconnected world, the insecurity of others — sooner or later — becomes a matter of our own insecurity. This new global context has forged common interest and common humanity into a powerful impetus for common action.

To this end, we need to adapt international practice to make the security of people — their rights, safety and lives — a collective priority. This means rewiring global machinery to fit the needs of this new century — not the last one.

For Canada, this has meant putting people first. It was the inspiration behind the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, the impetus for the creation of the International Criminal Court and the motive for our efforts to address the proliferation of small arms and the needs of war-affected children.

Advancing this human security agenda was also Canada's objective in seeking a seat on the Security Council.

In February 1999, I came to the Council to encourage it to make the protection of civilians in armed conflict a primary concern in its work.

Last fall, the Secretary-General presented a remarkable report that pointed the way ahead, and the Council responded with Resolution 1265 — its own commitment for action.

Today, the Council will take action that gives further coherence to these activities — action that effectively sets a new course for the Council in defending the safety of people. The Secretary-General's reports were the blueprint for action. The resolution we will adopt today, along with Resolution 1265, will be the handbook.

Most importantly, the text before us entrenches the principle that, in the pursuit of peace, the security of people is at least as worthy a subject as the security of states. In both spirit and letter, the resolution provides the basis for Council concern and action for this purpose.

This does not mean that the state is obsolete. On the contrary. For one thing, human security does not weaken sovereignty, but strengthens it by reinforcing democratic, tolerant, open institutions and behaviour. For another, the state remains the most powerful instrument for pursuing collective action.



It does, however, reflect a shift in Council perspective — where the security of people is no longer a by-product, but central to the Council's work.

The text before us calls attention to specific human security threats that require action. Consciousness stimulates conscience. Recent Council debate on issues of direct concern to the safety of people has served this purpose: conflict prevention, small arms, the protection of UN and humanitarian workers, war-affected children and the situation of refugees and internally displaced persons in Africa.

The resolution highlights these, with particular emphasis on the special needs of women and children in conflict, the importance for unhindered humanitarian access to conflict zones, and the pursuit of those who violate human security. In so doing, it creates an obligation and responsibility for the Council to shape its work accordingly.

The text before us also moves forward Council practice in the defence of people. In the last year, new peacekeeping missions have been deployed in Kosovo, East Timor and Sierra Leone — each with a robust and explicit mandate to facilitate humanitarian efforts and to offer direct protection to civilians.

There is movement to adapt the use of sanctions regimes so they enhance, rather than diminish, the safety of people. The Council's decision on Monday to create an informal working group to provide concrete reform proposals and its action yesterday to strengthen the Angola sanctions regime are positive steps in this direction.

The provisions of the resolution advance this practice, with further procedural references to peacekeeping, the use of sanctions and for information-sharing between the Security Council and the UN system and its members.

Council members would be the first to agree that neither they, nor anybody else, have a monopoly when it comes to protecting civilians in armed conflict. In response, this resolution links Council practice to initiatives elsewhere — like the landmines campaign and efforts to prosecute war criminals — that promote human security.

For example, with regard to war-affected children, there is considerable momentum for global action. Later this month, Ghana and Canada will host a conference in Accra to catalyze efforts in the West African region. In September, Canada will host an international conference bringing together governments, international agencies and civil society to develop a global plan of action. Council engagement in this area will go a long way to complementing the impact of these initiatives.

In summary, the text before us conveys a basic message: people — not just states — are subjects of global relations, and the security and basic rights of people — not merely

the absence of military conflict between states — are fundamental to world stability and peace.

Coming from the Security Council, this is a powerful message of change for the United Nations and for the international community.

However, it is clearly not a message without considerable challenges, nor one that has been met with undiluted enthusiasm.

Those who have suffered under colonialism and other outside involvement in their countries might well be sceptical. However, preventing abuse, stopping atrocities and dealing with the impact of war are also their issues, pertaining to their realities and clearly affecting stability in their backyards.

Others argue that the promotion of human security diverts attention and funds from the more basic priority of development. But far from being mutually exclusive, human security and human development are just opposite sides of the same coin. It is hard to devote resources to improving GDP when they are being spent to repair the ravages of war. Freedom from fear is an indispensable precursor to freedom from want.

Translating human security principles into practice also means grappling directly with difficult, highly charged subjects, being active in difficult, intractable conflicts where human suffering is great, and taking action in difficult circumstances when the use of military force may be necessary to alleviate extreme abuse.

There has been progress here. But, quite frankly, there have also been setbacks. Resistance to taking robust Council action last year in Kosovo, reticence to dealing openly in this Council with the issue of internally displaced people, and reluctance by the Council to become more engaged in certain conflicts, all make clear the need for improvement.

There are, finally, some very practical considerations in promoting human security. Council decisions aimed at protecting the safety of people are only as good as our ability to carry them out.

This is no secret. For the most part, we know what is needed — faster, more resolute and more effective responses. Ultimately, this takes political will and the application of considerable resources. Neither are inexhaustible, and the willingness of the international community to commit them in the service of human security is an open question.

To be sure, work by the Council to promote human security remains a work in progress. However, it is work that should continue. Human security — including the security of

civilians in armed conflict — must not be an issue we consider just once or even twice a year.

This resolution will ensure that it is an integral part of the Council's deliberations each and every time it considers action — that, in effect, human security is hard-wired into the Council's operations.

Our discussions over the last few days — on the Rwandan genocide, the Angolan conflict, the general use of sanctions and the protection of civilians in armed conflict — point to immediate human security concerns that need Council focus. They also suggest that this Council's hard-wiring needs to be part of a system-wide rewiring. Growing threats like the abuse, trafficking and proliferation of small arms; emerging trends like the increasing role of non-state actors both in perpetuating war and promoting peace; new complex human security challenges in specific areas like the Horn of Africa, including Sudan, where a confluence of natural disasters and man-made war-making, especially the relentless systematic targeting of civilians, results in extreme human suffering — all require a global system that is appropriately programmed to respond.

The Millennium Assembly offers an occasion to put concern and action for human security and safety where it belongs — at the centre of the UN system. The Council's action today is a step in this direction — a step that gives renewed meaning to the principles of the Charter, and renewed hope for the peoples for whom this organization was founded.

Thank you.



# Statement

CANADA ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL 1999 – 2000

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ONU2000UN>

2000/20

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE SIXTH REVIEW CONFERENCE  
OF THE PARTIES TO  
THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION  
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

UNITED NATIONS, New York  
April 25, 2000  
(11:20 a.m. EDT)





In 1979, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau wrote of "the terrible dangers that threaten humanity as long as nuclear weapons continue to be produced, and of our obligations as citizens and governments to face the consequences of this situation."

A generation later, the dangers have lost none of the potency, the obligations none of the urgency that they had when Prime Minister Trudeau first made these observations.

Without question, the risk of nuclear annihilation remains the greatest potential threat to human security.

Since our country gave up its own nuclear weapons capacity 50 years ago, Canadians have spent time, invested resources and given priority to working with others to build a strong international nuclear non-proliferation regime to lessen the threat.

With the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty [NPT] at its centre, the regime we have all painstakingly constructed over the past decades has served us well. It has proved its value and has produced results.

But while we can take satisfaction in past achievement, it is no guarantee of future security. In the realm of nuclear weapons threats and non-proliferation efforts, Cold War certainties of the 20th century are giving way to the shifting uncertainties of the 21st.

As a result, this Conference is an opportunity not only to review the NPT but to rewire its machinery in response to the new realities. What is at stake is nothing less than the future course of nuclear weapons attitudes and arsenals — indeed, the very well-being of humanity.

The challenges are varied.

One real worry is the tendency of some to justify retaining nuclear arsenals as a defence against other weapons of mass destruction or as political status symbols.

No less disturbing are the ambitions of others to acquire nuclear capacity. Nuclear testing by India and Pakistan has added a frightening dimension to insecurity in the region of South Asia, and it has flagrantly violated international norms against nuclear proliferation.

Other issues have to do with the security, storage and disposal of fissile materials from dismantled warheads. Concern has grown about the possibility of illicit transfers of nuclear weapons-grade material and technology, as well as the irresponsible use by certain states, groups and individuals of their nuclear knowledge.

In still other quarters, there is a drift toward unilateral options — a source of anxiety. In the United States, the rejection by the Senate of the CTBT [Comprehensive Test Ban

Treaty] is a significant step backward, while the proposed unilateral National Missile Defence would have serious implications for the NPT regime.

In the meantime, the inexcusable impasse at the Conference on Disarmament has precluded any multilateral movement relating to nuclear disarmament, security assurances and prevention of an arms race in outer space, while over 50 States Parties to the NPT have still not concluded nuclear safeguards agreements with the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency].

To be sure, there have also been successes since we agreed five years ago to extend the NPT indefinitely.

The number of states remaining outside the Treaty has been reduced from 10 to only 4. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty has been negotiated and signed by the vast majority of states.

Nuclear weapons-free zones have been established in Central and South America, Africa, and the Pacific. The International Atomic Energy Agency has adopted measures that significantly strengthen the effectiveness and efficiency of the nuclear safeguards regime.

There have been significant reductions in nuclear weapons and the elimination of entire weapons systems by the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom and France, as well as deep cuts in the nuclear forces assigned to NATO. The downsizing has contributed to a more stable security environment.

In addition, Russia recently ratified both START II and the CTBT — a step we strongly commend. This provides a hopeful window of opportunity for disarmament efforts.

Developments over the past five years have been both positive and negative. But while the record may be mixed, one thing is sure: those who think the end of the Cold War somehow removed the threat of nuclear weapons need to think again. We all need to.

Yet the risks associated with nuclear weapons appear to have faded from the radar screen of international attention. Somehow, we seem to have lost our way — or our will — to defend the NPT regime resolutely, to keep its promises and honour its obligations.

The global nuclear non-proliferation regime cannot be allowed to wither by active design or malign neglect. On the contrary, there is a need for heightened awareness among our peoples and in our legislatures about the challenges. That need lay behind my government's consultation with our Parliament two years ago on nuclear issues.

Now is the time to re-affirm international commitment and to refocus global energy on strengthening the regime. This — not the misguided appeal of unilateral action, whatever its source — offers the best guarantee of our common security.

The NPT Review Conference is therefore an opportunity to identify shortcomings, to renew determination to build an effective, international regime, and to come to grips with the emerging threats to be addressed by that regime.

The tasks are clear. We must give new meaning to the basic deal underpinning the NPT: a promise by those without nuclear weapons not to acquire them, in exchange for a commitment by those possessing such weapons to eventually give them up. Along with that, we must give real meaning to the pledge of "permanence with accountability," made when the NPT was extended indefinitely.

These are certainly Canada's goals. Our approach is threefold.

First, we are committed to promoting and protecting the Treaty's universality. We must never slacken in our efforts to engage the four remaining NPT holdouts of India, Pakistan, Cuba and Israel, and to seek ways of obtaining their full adherence to the provisions of the Treaty. At the same time, we need to ensure that all States Parties keep their commitment to fulfilling their Treaty obligations.

Second, we will work to secure agreement on an updated Five-Year Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Action Plan containing concrete objectives and goals.

We are flexible on the format but unwavering on the principle. This program goes to the heart of the promise of real accountability made by both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons states. The promise was the basis on which many countries — my own included — agreed to extend the NPT indefinitely.

In our view, this means an action program designed to:

- complete work on the CTBT by finding a way to bring it into force sooner rather than later;
- end deadlock at the Conference on Disarmament and begin negotiations on a ban on fissile material production;
- continue START reductions in strategic and tactical nuclear weapons arsenals;
- stress the need for Russia and the United States to maintain the integrity of the Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty;



- call on other nuclear weapons states to enter into disarmament negotiations once the number of U.S. and Russian strategic warheads is reduced to the 1000–2000 range;
- extend the application of existing nuclear weapons-free zones and encourage new zones — particularly in areas of tension, such as the Middle East and South Asia;
- promote the universalization of comprehensive IAEA safeguards in order to restrict the flow of materials and know-how needed for the development of nuclear weapons; and
- further improve verification and inspection capacity and effectiveness.

Canada is pressing for progress in all these areas. We are also calling for closer attention to another issue: restricting access to the means of delivering nuclear and other weapons — notably, missiles.

A growing number of countries now possess, are developing or are acquiring missiles capable of delivering nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. Yet there exists no treaty, no code of conduct, no set of guidelines defining responsible behaviour in these areas. This is a matter that must be addressed.

One possibility advocated by some is to strengthen missile defences. However, there are serious concerns about whether strengthened defences would work, whether they would ultimately enhance or diminish security, and whether they would reinforce or damage the NPT regime.

Another option is to work at curtailing missile proliferation in the first place, and to make doing so a key part of a strengthened, global non-proliferation regime.

For example, the Missile Technology Control Regime [MTCR] could be made more effective by adopting stricter export controls on relevant technology and widening participation.

The Regime could also make an important contribution toward developing workable confidence-building measures, establishing universal norms to distinguish between responsible and irresponsible behaviour involving missiles, and backing this up with an effective verification mechanism.

Another solution that merits further thought is the creation of a joint early warning system. Efforts to deal with the Year 2000 bug demonstrated the capacity for wider

international co-operation in monitoring, and the experience might have application in defending against ballistic missile attack.

A joint warning system might also be combined with a multilateral, rules-based method of reducing ballistic missile threats from non-traditional sources.

A stronger non-proliferation regime depends on effective global arrangements. It also depends on the willingness of individual countries and groups of countries to assess the validity of their own policies.

This is why Canada has been active in efforts now under way at NATO to review fully the Alliance's non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament options. NATO nuclear forces have already been reduced by over 80 percent. But more must be done.

The review will be presented to NATO foreign ministers in December and could also be used to engage Russia in the Permanent Joint Council. This willingness to explore further measures underlines NATO's commitment to advancing global arms control and disarmament. We trust that the review will be pursued with diligence and serious intent, as a signal that the NPT Article 6 bargain will be kept.

Finally, as the third strand of our approach, Canada will work toward a more robust NPT review and assessment process.

Agreeing on future goals is one thing; making sure they are implemented is quite another. With that goal in mind, we believe the NPT review process could be enhanced with a requirement to more frequently track, discuss and document movement toward translating our commitments into action.

Further, if we are to have real accountability, we need to have real transparency. Welcome moves in this direction are the naming of NGO [non-governmental organization] representatives to a number of delegations to this Conference (including my own), and the opportunity given to the NGO community to make its views known.

As we learned from the Ottawa Process, which culminated in a convention banning anti-personnel mines, the active contribution of NGO representatives can do a great deal to enhance the openness of our work, to involve people in the issues, and to mobilize public support and participation in our efforts.

The first resolution ever adopted by the UN General Assembly was one recommending that atomic weapons be eliminated from national arsenals. Ever since then, we have grappled with how best to constrain the nuclear genie.

Imperfect as it may be, the global nuclear non-proliferation regime provides the answer. A strong and effective NPT remains indispensable.

There are evident feelings of impatience with the nuclear deal, temptations to violate the NPT provisions, and a new set of non-proliferation threats and challenges, combined with a worrying drift away from international approaches.

Yet the NPT remains the most widely adhered-to security accord in history. And the reason is that despite the frustrations, the NPT and with it a global non-proliferation regime offer the best hope for minimizing the threat of nuclear annihilation, and the best vehicle for advancing our common security now and into the future.

We need to re-affirm the importance of the NPT here, and we must uphold the merits of multilateral solutions when non-proliferation is debated back home in our respective assemblies, parliaments and congresses.

It is therefore vital that the Review Conference succeed in advancing this agenda and not stand still. This is a responsibility we all carry as we turn our minds to the challenging work ahead. A safe and secure future depends on it.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/21

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
TO THE CONFERENCE IN WEST AFRICA ON  
WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN

ACCRA, Ghana  
April 27, 2000  
(9:25 a.m. EDT)







Human development and human security are the central global concerns of this new century. These basic human needs start with the promotion of children's needs. Nowhere is their safety and well-being more at risk than in conflict situations.

This concern inspired our meeting here in Accra — a demonstration of Ghanaian leadership in this area. It was just over a year ago, during my discussions with President Rawlings and Foreign Minister Ghebo, that we agreed a regional conference might make a difference in the lives of children victimized by armed conflict in West Africa.

This conference is about changing the fate of war-affected children and preventing future atrocities committed against children in situations of armed conflict.

Four years ago, Graca Machel presented the UN General Assembly with her landmark study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children.

Her report graphically conveyed the fate of millions upon millions of war-affected children. She also gave us a substantive set of recommendations — a road map of how to protect our children from this suffering.

Her message is now our motto: children have no part in war. It is the reason we are here in Ghana.

The protection of children affected by war and the promotion of their well-being is a moral, political, social and economic imperative.

Moral, because children are our creation and in their early years depend on adult members of society for their survival and development.

Political, because children who have been abused develop into adults who may be willing to turn their resentment into political violence, while their families may act out their own outrage in a destructive manner.

Social, because the anger and psychological scars of these abused children and their families threaten social cohesion and place a heavy burden on social services.

And economic, because all these problems have economic costs, whether it be the need for medical and social support or the loss of productive citizens.

Abuse of children, therefore, has both immediate costs and can lead to future divisiveness and deterioration of their communities.

For these reasons, children are at the heart of human security, as they are all too often among the most deeply affected by an increase in insecurity.

The African Charter on the Rights of the Child has set out a comprehensive agenda for action: on armed conflicts, on refugee children, on orphaned and separated children, and on various aspects of protection. This has provided leadership for the international community.

Last January in Geneva, the international community agreed to an Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child relating to the involvement of children in armed conflict — in particular the recruitment and deployment of children as soldiers. The Protocol will be open for signature this September.

It is time to move from standard-setting to implementation, compliance and concrete action.

That is the goal of this conference.

Its focus is on the needs of individual children, their families and communities, and ensuring that West African governments and regional organizations like ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] have the capacity to support new initiatives.

Its themes address a variety of the root causes and symptoms which lead to the involvement of children in war: poverty, lack of alternatives, access to small arms, impunity, conflict prevention, the role of non-state actors and the special gender dimensions of conflict.

Its participation includes youth themselves who have met over the past few days to set their own agenda based on their own needs, rights and goals. They are, after all, the ones most directly involved. Their views are essential. Their voices need to be heard. That is why war-affected youth have been invited and why we need to listen to their concerns.

Civil society is also represented. As with the campaign to ban landmines and the creation of the International Criminal Court, they are leading international efforts to address the needs of war-affected children. Their presence allows us to continue to forge strong partnerships in dealing with human security challenges. They also have recommendations for action. I look forward to hearing them.

The results of this conference — hopefully — will catalyze practical, sustainable action to address the enormous impact that war has had on the children of West Africa and serve as a model for future conferences in other regions.

There are many challenges. One of them is the pre-meditated abduction of children from their families, homes and communities. I hope that one of the specific actions to

come out of this conference is a release program for children. To those armies or rebel groups responsible, the message should be clear: if you have taken children — let them go; if you have children in your ranks — set them free.

It is now up to governments gathered here to decide what they are ready to do and what they are ready to commit.

For our part, Canada has already been active in promoting human security in the region. We have devoted over \$10 million to peace and humanitarian efforts in Sierra Leone — much of it aimed at helping war-affected children lead normal, secure lives.

Working with Sweden, we have supported efforts to include child rights and protection issues in training curriculums for military staff of West African armed forces. Similarly, we have assisted the UN Centre for Crime Prevention in its efforts to curb trafficking of women and children in the region. And our Peacebuilding and Human Security Program provided financial support for the journalists and youth workshops associated with this conference.

We are prepared to do more — in the region and in the world. That is why Canada is pleased to co-sponsor this conference with our Ghanaian hosts and why we will build on the experience here to prepare for the global conference on war-affected children, which will take place this September in the city of Winnipeg in Canada. It will bring together like-minded governments, international institutions, NGOs and youth to develop an international plan of action.

Canada also continues to be a strong supporter of the work of Olara Otunnu, the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict. We have made a substantial financial contribution to his office, and will collaborate with him to assist in fulfilling his mandate. He has done much to raise the profile of this subject around the world and we welcome his presence here in Accra.

Recognizing the important work of civil society, Canada has over the past two years provided financial support for the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, an international organization that played a key role in the successful negotiation of the Optional Protocol on Children in Armed Conflict.

As with efforts to deal with the abuse of small arms and to ban landmines, Africans are leading the world in developing practical means and action to advance the protection of civilians in war and to promote human security. To that end, this conference will be an important contribution to global action in dealing with war-affected children. I will ensure that decisions made here will be fully integrated into efforts in Winnipeg.



One of the most basic human instincts is to protect one's child from harm and suffering. Children represent our global future and the desire to guard them from the many forces that can destroy their hope and innocence is universal.

Doing so is an essential part of our broader aspiration to promote human security and to create stable, peaceful societies.

In considering our responsibilities to our children, I am often reminded of a saying by the Opaskwayak Elders of the Cree Nation in Canada to the effect that "a child is a gift or loan from the Great Spirit; and one is given the responsibility to raise and care for that child. Since a child is a gift from the Great Spirit, the child is sacred and must be treated with respect and dignity."

This is truly a sentiment with universal meaning. Here in Ghana this week, I look forward to working with you in living up to that sacred trust, in seeking ways to make a real difference in helping war-affected children in West Africa.

Thank you.

# Statement

---

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/22

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS

BY

THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE

CONFERENCE ON WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN IN WEST AFRICA

ACCRA, Ghana  
April 28, 2000  
(3:30 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada



This has been a landmark conference. It proves that when people come together and work toward defined goals, much can be accomplished.

This conference was born from our partnership with Ghana and your commitment to security in the sub-region. Together we had one overarching goal: to put an end to the suffering that war has brought to the children of West Africa.

Let me take a moment to pay tribute.

West Africa has been a leader and model for all of us.

You did not wait to take action when you saw acute suffering in Liberia and Sierra Leone. ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group] has taken great risks to make the sub-region safe. Your commitment to peace and security has been great and deserves support.

During the past two days, we have discussed a wide range of issues and adopted a holistic agenda — one that deals with the root causes of conflict and one that will help us better understand and prevent the future exploitation and suffering of children.

You have put forward some very concrete recommendations, recommendations that Canada will help where it can to implement.

- First and foremost, Canada will support the call for the immediate release of all children abducted and held against their will by armed groups.
- Canada supports establishing programs to rehabilitate and reintegrate these children. It is important that in doing so local traditions and values are employed. This will not only heal wounds and close breaches, but will also help to unite societies and prevent a repeat of the violence of the past.
- Incorporating child rights and protection of civilians in military training programs will also have a positive impact.
- Prevention is key. Implementing early warning and response systems will undoubtedly help protect all members of society, especially the most vulnerable.
- Agreement to have an annual “West African Week of Truce for War-Affected Children” so that humanitarian assistance can be moved in and children’s immunization programs can be conducted is vital. This week should also serve another important function: registering births. All those who have not been registered should be, for two reasons. First, this gives individual children identities and access to rights and services. Second, it serves a useful data collection function, whereby we can finally begin to know the numbers and extent of the impact of conflict on West African children.



- I also believe that we cannot talk about protecting the rights of children without including young people in the discussion. I am encouraged that you have decided to ensure that young people are included as participants and advocates, and that ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] will develop a children-to-children network within West Africa.

Here in Accra, the 21 West African youth delegates held their own conference. Yesterday, Foreign Minister Gbeho and I participated in the first-ever live Internet broadcast between Africa and Canada with them. Conducted by the Canadian non-governmental organization [NGO] “War Child,” it linked students in schools across Canada with these war-affected children.

The calibre of the dialogue among these young people was inspiring. They inherently understand the problems — they live with them daily.

I believe that if we gave them the power and resources, they could sit in this room and within hours resolve the problems. The warlords of this world would not stand a chance against the power of their energy and ideas.

To enact this agenda, however, more than declarations and speeches are needed; leadership and accountability are necessary.

Without strong leadership that is answerable to the public will, children will remain vulnerable.

Our challenge now is to ensure that what has been adopted in the Declaration and Plan of Action indeed becomes that: action.

Canada is committed to immediate and longer-term follow-up of this Plan of Action.

In the short term, Canada will commit to funding the following:

- *an ECOWAS mechanism for child protection:* Canada will help fund an assessment of existing capacity and a needs assessment for a child protection unit within ECOWAS, identifying areas for donor involvement in the region (\$300 000);
- *a sub-regional initiative for military training in child rights and protection:* Save the Children Sweden, with Canadian financial support, will be training instructors in national armed forces on a country-by-country basis within West Africa (\$52 000);

- *youth engagement*: on the ground, we will help Talking Drum Studios, an NGO with a great deal of experience in Liberia, to launch a radio training and capacity-building media project with young people and adults in Sierra Leone (\$100 000).

At the political level, I will ensure that Canada takes elements of this agenda to the Security Council, the G-8, and the Human Security Network.

Canada will continue to convene meetings with the international community to discuss follow-up and implementation, both locally and in capitals.

It is my hope that this conference has set a standard for future conferences on war-affected children.

As many of you know, Canada will be hosting an international conference on war-affected children in September. It will feed recommendations made here and in Canada to the Special Session on Children in 2001.

We must all collaborate to carry this agenda forward, so that we do not fail the children of West Africa again. We must restore a sense of hope to them and their families and ensure that each of them has a long, productive and secure life.

Thank you.



# Statement

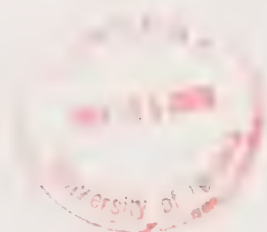
[www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca)

2000/23

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE LLOYD AXWORTHY  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TO THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY  
AND THE NATIONAL STUDENT COMMONWEALTH FORUM

OTTAWA, Ontario  
May 9, 2000  
(8:20 p.m. EDT)



Government  
of Canada

Gouvernement  
du Canada

Canada





I am pleased to be here this evening. We are a diverse group brought together by a shared interest: our attachment to the Commonwealth.

I think we all agree that its work can do much to promote the common values that bind its members and that it can play an important role in pursuing development, peace and security for all its people.

I am particularly encouraged by the participation of young Canadians, gathered with the hope, promise and confidence that are characteristic of your generation, in discussing and exchanging ideas about the Commonwealth and about the future.

Half a world away in another Commonwealth country, young people like yourselves live a different — and vastly more difficult — reality. Hope, promise and confidence are not notions that readily come to mind when contemplating their future.

For the past decade, the brutality and suffering in Sierra Leone have trampled their aspirations along with the dreams of the rest of that country's desperate people.

The murder of UN peacekeepers and the capture of others last week is but the latest affront to the beleaguered peace process.

This incident is intolerable. Canadians have condemned it in the strongest possible terms. We have called for the immediate release of the remaining hostages, and we are working closely with others at the Security Council to this end.

I have also reiterated a message I delivered personally to Foday Sankoh, the leader of the rebel RUF [Revolutionary United Front], two weeks ago, to strictly abide by all the terms of the Lomé Peace Agreement.

The action of the rebel forces is not only unacceptable, it is symptomatic of the changing nature, the evolving risks and the emerging challenges of armed conflict that plague this new century.

These are threats that, at their most basic, endanger human security on an unparalleled scale.

In Sierra Leone, the conflict is fought not in isolated battle zones across national borders but in the country itself, directly on city streets and in farmers' fields: the combatants are often children, coerced or co-opted into violence; the targets are not military but civilian; the tools of war — small arms, light military weapons and landmines — overwhelmingly injure and kill ordinary people; and the funds that fuel violence are derived from the new war economies where the country's wealth is subverted by an unscrupulous alliance between warlords and commercial interest.

In Sierra Leone, the result of all of this — as in other armed conflicts of our time — is that innocent civilians suffer most. The statistics are startling. For the victims of war, the reality is appalling.

This was all too evident in the desperate faces, the hollow voices and the disfigured bodies of the people I met during my visit to Sierra Leone last week.

I was accompanied by David Pratt, who, as my special envoy, has done so much to bring this horrific conflict to our attention while working hard to propose practical ways for Canadians to help.

And help we must. Canada's human security agenda is about putting people — their rights, safety and lives — first in our foreign policy.

It is an approach that animated the campaign to ban landmines, our efforts to create the International Criminal Court, our actions to advance the protection of civilians in armed conflict into the work of the Security Council, and our initiatives to address the plight of war-affected children and the proliferation and abuse of small arms.

It is the motive behind Canada's engagement in Sierra Leone. We have been working multilaterally and bilaterally to promote sustainable peace.

A lasting solution for Sierra Leone is possible only with the sustained involvement of the international community. This means concerted multilateral action to support the peace process and to build the foundations for a stable society. Canada has supported these efforts.

Since 1997, the countries of the region, in particular Nigeria and Ghana, have worked to restore constitutional rule through ECOMOG, a regional peacekeeping force. They have done this at great expense in terms of human life and scarce financial resources.

Canada provided assistance to this operation through the Commonwealth. However, efforts to secure peace in Sierra Leone are clearly not a burden ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] could or should carry alone. It is a collective task for which we all share responsibility.

That is why following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, in July 1999, Canada worked at the Security Council for the deployment of a large UN peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL, to help implement the peace accord. We also insisted on, and succeeded in, explicitly including the protection of civilians in the mission's mandate — a first for UN peacekeeping.

The current situation makes clear that the process of bringing peace is not easy, quick or without risk. However, it is essential that we resolve this crisis and re-establish the authority of the UN and UNAMSIL, not only for the sake of peace in Sierra Leone but for the credibility of UN peace operations throughout the world.

These efforts to establish peace need to be complemented by international attention and action to the economic forces that feed war. To that end, Partnership Africa Canada, with the support of the Canadian government, has produced a groundbreaking report, *The Heart of the Matter*, that focuses on the illicit diamond trade in Sierra Leone and its impact on conflict there and in the region.

In co-operation with others, Canada is now exploring what can be done to ensure that Sierra Leone's diamond wealth is used to increase rather than diminish the security and development of its population. Our experience in Angola, where Canada has taken the lead in strengthening UN sanctions on the illicit trade in oil, diamonds and weapons, might be useful in this regard.

Sierra Leone also provides further strong evidence for the establishment of the International Criminal Court, which would act as a deterrent and remove any possibility of impunity or safe haven for individuals suspected of having committed crimes against humanity.

Canada's bilateral actions are aimed at complementing these international activities. I have mentioned the efforts of David Pratt, who has worked so tirelessly — and to such positive effect — in raising awareness and pressing for action.

Since December 1998, Canada has committed nearly \$12 million to support peace in Sierra Leone. Our focus has been on humanitarian assistance, food aid, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities and a variety of peacebuilding programs, including our participation in the Commonwealth police task force project, assistance to the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, and the establishment of free media.

These efforts will continue. For example, Canada is currently helping to establish a National Commission on Children in Sierra Leone, composed of civil society organizations and government representatives, which will focus its efforts on the most vulnerable of the victims of the war.

Indeed, addressing the plight of war-affected youth is key to prospects for lasting peace in Sierra Leone. Over half the population of Sierra Leone is under 18 — an entire generation that has known nothing but war. Sustained attention to their concerns, like the concerns of war-affected youth in all conflicts, is therefore indispensable.



That was the motive for the West African Conference on War-Affected Children in Accra, Ghana, which I co-chaired with my Ghanaian counterpart, Foreign Minister Ghebo, just prior to my visit to Freetown.

The conference set out a series of practical, concrete actions that West African countries, with the support of others, can undertake to deal with the impact of war on children, to help reintegrate war-affected youth into society — especially through education, and to prevent the involvement of children in conflict in the future.

The results of the Accra conference — the first of its kind — will be integrated into the Winnipeg International Conference on War-Affected Children this September. This conference will bring together like-minded governments, international agencies and civil society in an effort to develop a global plan of action.

Over two centuries ago, Halifax served as a halfway stop for many of those who, fleeing oppression, eventually made Sierra Leone their home. The connection between Canada and Sierra Leone was thereby established.

These links have been sustained through our membership in the Commonwealth. Last week in London, I attended the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group meeting, where we discussed, among other things, how to continue our longstanding support for the peace process.

But perhaps more than any other organization, the strength of the Commonwealth, and the effectiveness of its actions, lies in the direct connections between its people.

Your presence, in such large numbers, is testimony to this reality. I am very encouraged, but not surprised, to see so many friends and supporters of Sierra Leone with us tonight, people who have given generously of their time and money in the struggle to bring a measure of peace and security to the people of that country.

This is a reflection of Canadian generosity. This is an example of the human security agenda in action.

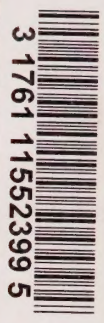
Thank you.











3 1761 11552399 5